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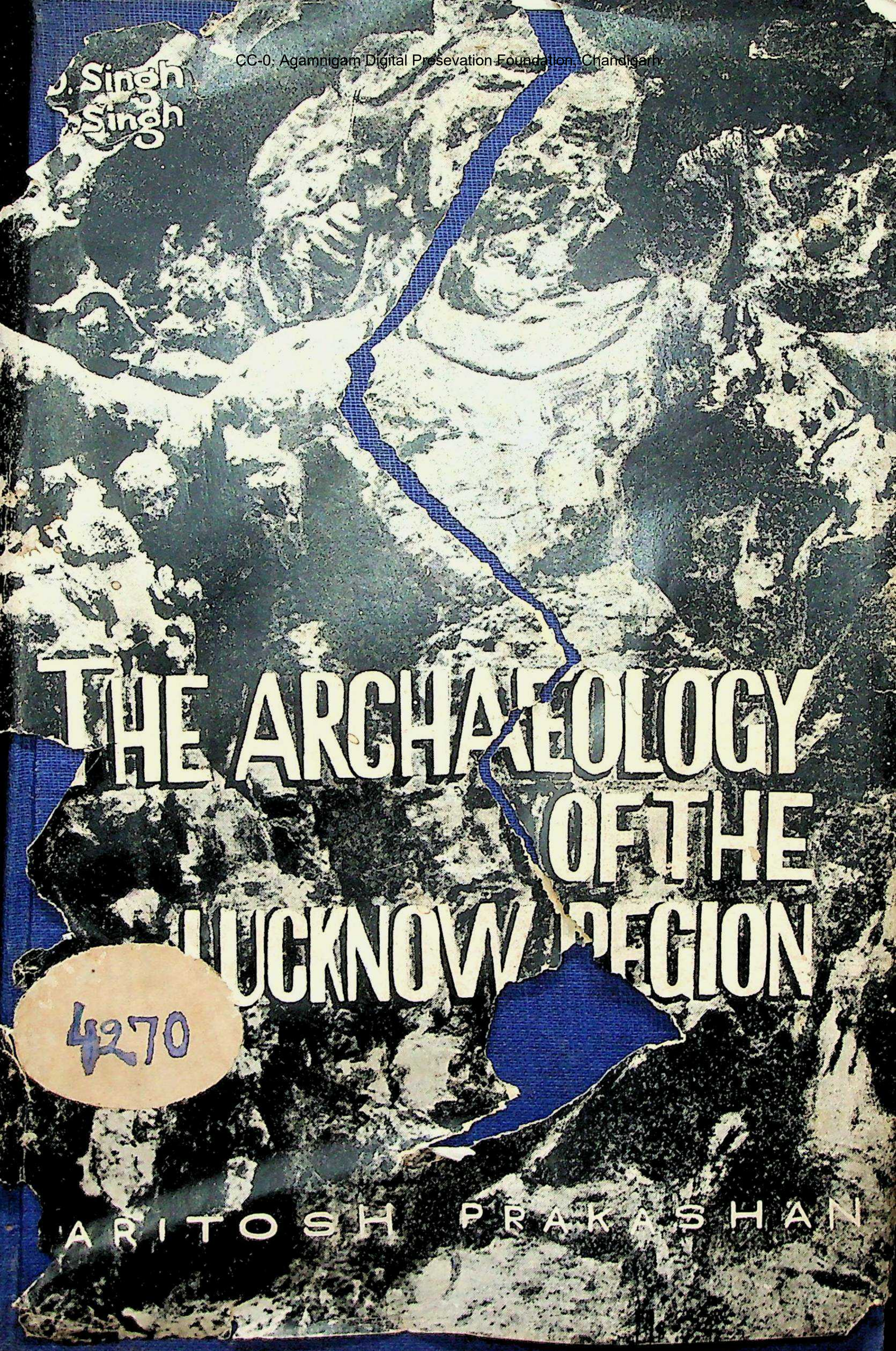
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LUCKNOW REGION



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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LUCKNOW REGION

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LUCKNOW REGION

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AND

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M. A., Ph. D.
Archaeological Survey of India.

With a Foreword
by
Professor A. L. Basham

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TO

OUR PARENTS

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TO

OUR PARENTS

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FOREWORD

The city of Lakṣmaṇa, the hero of Indian legend who is the archetype of loyalty in all circumstances, has a name reminiscent of the remote past. Yet it is associated in the minds of most people only with the history of recent centuries, since the Nawabs made it one of the chief centres of Indo-Islamic culture. It will be a matter of surprise to many readers of this book to learn that in and around this city, one of the most modern in India, there are so many remnants of a much remoter past, reaching back to prehistoric times when the inhabitants of the region were just beginning to learn the use of metal. The same is equally true of another city not very far away–Kanpur, the city of Kṛṣṇa, named after another legendary hero, but associated with comparatively recent history.

These two cities were not very important in ancient days, but the region which they now serve has been the home of civilized people for at least three thousand years, and many remains of the older strata of Indian culture are still to be found, either on the surface or below it. If other regions of India have produced more spectacular archaeological remains, this is not to say that the Lucknow region is insignificant in respect of the material remains of its past.

Dr. Sarva Daman Singh has done much to promote the development of interest in local history and archaeology during his career at Lucknow University. Now, with this very valuable survey of the Archaeology of the Lucknow region, he and his collaborator have given their special knowledge of the subject to a wider public. I trust that this well written book will result in a great growth of interest among the people of the area in the remains of their remoter ancestors, and stimulate further archaeological work in the locality.

A. L. Basham
Canberra
August 1970

INTRODUCTION

Every age has its own interest in the past, its own version of the perennial question, "How came I thus, how here?" How the men of the past organised themselves in societies, housed themselves and made their wares, worshipped their gods and made love, married and proliferated, fell ill and died, how they spent their money and occupied their leisure—questions such as these, rather than how they were governed, misgoverned or ungoverned, have been thrusting themselves imperiously upon history's attention. And archaeology seeks to answer these questions with reference to the remoter past in the absence of any other historical documents. India's past unfolds her variegated variety amid the vicissitudes of succeeding ages, owing not a little to the perseverance of the archaeologist, who good-humouredly complains that the historians are either too gullible or too cautious to reach useful conclusions, and that the philologists are too quarrelsome to reach any conclusions at all.

Indeed, the lack of historical consciousness in ancient India evidenced in the absence of written annals of reasonable veracity invests archaeology with an ineluctable role in the task of unfolding and interpreting India's past. And archaeological research on a local and regional basis remains a desideratum in India. Systematic survey and exploration of specified regions within self-imposed limits will doubtless yield a rich reward of known and unknown data of archaeological and historical interest. A modest attempt in that direction, the present book is devoted to the study of four districts of western Awadh—Lucknow, Unnao, Kanpur and Sitapur. Notwithstanding our desire to enlarge the sphere of our enquiry, we have felt compelled to limit our researches to these four districts owing to scarcity of resources or help from any quarter.

We have done our best to make this study as thorough and uptodate as possible. Sites, known or hitherto unknown, have been alike discussed, including evaluative appraisals of copper implements, pottery, art and architecture, coins, iconography and general history. First-hand descriptions, fresh identifications and new interpretations have been given wherever required; and a critical rather than an adoring angle, tempered by a sceptical realism, has been brought to bear upon the problems that inevitably crop up ; and many of the opinions expressed in the following pages stake a claim to originality, even though their correctness may sometimes be called in question.

The book has been divided into seven chapters. The first, devoted to the study of copper hoards, records some new discoveries in the Sitapur district, besides attempting an assessment of their antiquity and significance. It is our firm belief that the supposed association of these hoards with the ochre-washed pottery will doubtless be confirmed ; and a post-Harappan date—c. 1700-1300 B.C.—seems most plausible. The problem posed by the inscrutable anthropomorphs has been answered by the suggestion that they represent weapon-gods who promise protection and assure success in hunting expeditions. Metal objects and terracotta anthropomorphs represent even today the *grāma-devatās*, who protect villages from want and famine, disease and pestilence.

The second chapter deals with the protohistoric sites of the region, characterised by the use of the Painted Grey ware that succeeded the ochre-washed ware associated with the famous copper hoards, but preceded the N.B.P. ware. The carbon 14 dates available for the Painted Grey ware from Atranjikhera (Etah)—1020 ± 110 B.C. and 940 ± 105 B.C.—seem to confirm Lal's estimate that the P.G. ware layers at Hastinapur may be assigned to c. 1100-800 B.C. The time-bracket of 1000-500 B.C. appears more likely for the currency of the P.G. ware in the Lucknow region. Of a homogeneous group, this ware has certain distinctive features, such as its wheel-turned, fine, thin, well-burnt fabric and ashy, greyish-brown or dark-grey colour, and its decorative designs consisting of simple bands, pellets and dots, trefoils, groups of vertical, oblique or criss-cross lines, a number of dots arranged in a circle, dashes and dots alternating with simple lines, spirals, semi-circles, concentric circles, *sigmas* and *svastikas*, painted in black pigment or, occasionally, chocolate or reddish-brown colour. A few bear on their inner surface intersecting lines, scalloped concentric circles, spirals and groups of circles. The Black and Red ware, alike assignable to the protohistoric period, has also been found at a number of places.

The third chapter is devoted to the early historic sites recognisable by the use of the Northern Black Polished ware, assigned to c. 500-100 B.C. It is a very fine ware, thin, brilliantly polished, with a lustrous metallic finish, and ranges in colour from coal-black, steel-grey or silvery, to golden. The process of its manufacture is difficult to understand; the laboratory of the British Museum has come to the conclusion that 'the unfired pots were dipped in a suspension of a ferruginous inorganic material, probably resembling a red earth; and that, after firing to a temperature of c. 800° C., the kiln was sealed so that the pots cooled in a reducing atmosphere. The mineralogical identity of the "red earth" has not been discovered, and the main problem, namely the precise nature of the surface layer, still remains unsolved.'[1] The potsherds found represent dishes with incurved or straight rims, bowls with straight, convex or tapering sides, and sharply carinated *hāṇḍīs* The ware is indeed widely distributed; but the uniformity of its shapes and its unvarying excellence alike suggest a common centre of origin. The ware is profuse in the valley of the Gangā, whence it may have spread to the east, west and south alike. The chapter includes descriptions of the recently discovered N.B.P. sites, Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa terracottas and sculptures, coins and other finds of interest.

The temple at Bhitargaon and the other Gupta sites of the region form the burden of the fourth chapter. The harmony of thought and design, the mastery of form and the redemption of all things by beauty everlasting, coupled with an unwavering affirmation of faith in the terrestrial and the divine, enliven the great Gupta art that chases the shadows of despair out of our ken.

The medieval sites and monuments have been described in the fifth chapter, which draws attention to the recently discovered brick temples in the districts of Kanpur and Sitapur. The medieval sculptures, sacred as well as secular, seem to reflect in their exuberance the profusion of India's vegetation and the teeming nature of her population. Terracotta representations of men and animals, and coins and inscriptions add to our understanding of a period on the threshold of Muslim incursions. A number of newly discovered mounds with pre-Mughal medieval glazed ware, incense-burners and knife-edged bowls (c. 850—1100 A.D.), have also been duly discussed in this chapter.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the monuments of Lucknow which, though not very old, represent a rich efflorescence of architecture in transition. Imambaras and mosques, palaces and tombs, tell a tale of short-lived opulence that impresses, even if it fails to inspire.

---

[1] Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 30. According to the Archaeological Chemist, ASI, the pots, after being turned on the wheel, were 'wet-smoothed' and burnished to increase their compactness and impermeability, and were then dressed with a highly ferruginous clay, the lustre arising from the incipient fusion of the slip in the process of firing itself. Cf. *Ancient India*, no. 1 (1946), p. 58; B.B. Lal, *Excavation at Hastinapur and other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins 1950-52*, in *Ancient India*, nos. 10 and 11 (1954 and 1955), p. 51.

The seventh chapter deals with the history of Lucknow from the misty days of the P.G. ware at Lachman *Ṭīlā* upto the great upheaval of 1857, that heralded the rise of a resurgent India on the ashes of her medieval past, traversing new horizons of creative activity and achievement. Written amid the alarums and excursions of 1857, a letter from Sir Henry Lawrence to Lord Canning admirably reflects the temper of the time, and has, therefore, been included in an appendix as a contemporary document of great value.

To feel at home in all the centuries is beyond most men's capacity. Ideal historians and archaeologists should have scholarly maturity, wide reading, wider sympathies, and sturdy legs. We wonder if we have any of the requisite qualifications; and for the many blemishes in our undertaking we crave, even though we may not deserve, the indulgence of our readers. To err is but human, to forgive divine.

We are deeply indebted to Professor A.L. Basham for writing the *Foreword* to our book, which, even otherwise, owes much to his encouragement. We must also thank Mr. Skanda Kumar Agrawal for the photographs of three terracottas from Newal; Dr. Sankata Prasad Shukla and Mr. B.B. Sur for the line drawings; Mr. Hem Raj for some information about Manwa Dih; the Archaeological Survey of India for occasional assistance; and our publisher Mrs. Pushpa Amar Rastogi for the commendable job of producing the book in a short space of time. And, finally, we must acknowledge our indebtedness to our wives, whose affectionate encouragement and cooperation contributed in no small measure to the completion of our task.

S. D. S.
S. B. S.

ABBREVIATIONS

AI, *Ancient India.*

ASI, *Archaeological Survey of India.*

ASIAR, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.*

BDCRI, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.*

CRSML, *Consolidated Report on the Working of the State Museum, Lucknow.*

EI, *Epigraphia Indica.*

IA, *Indian Archaeology—A Review.*

JASB, *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society.*

JISOA, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts.*

JRAS, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

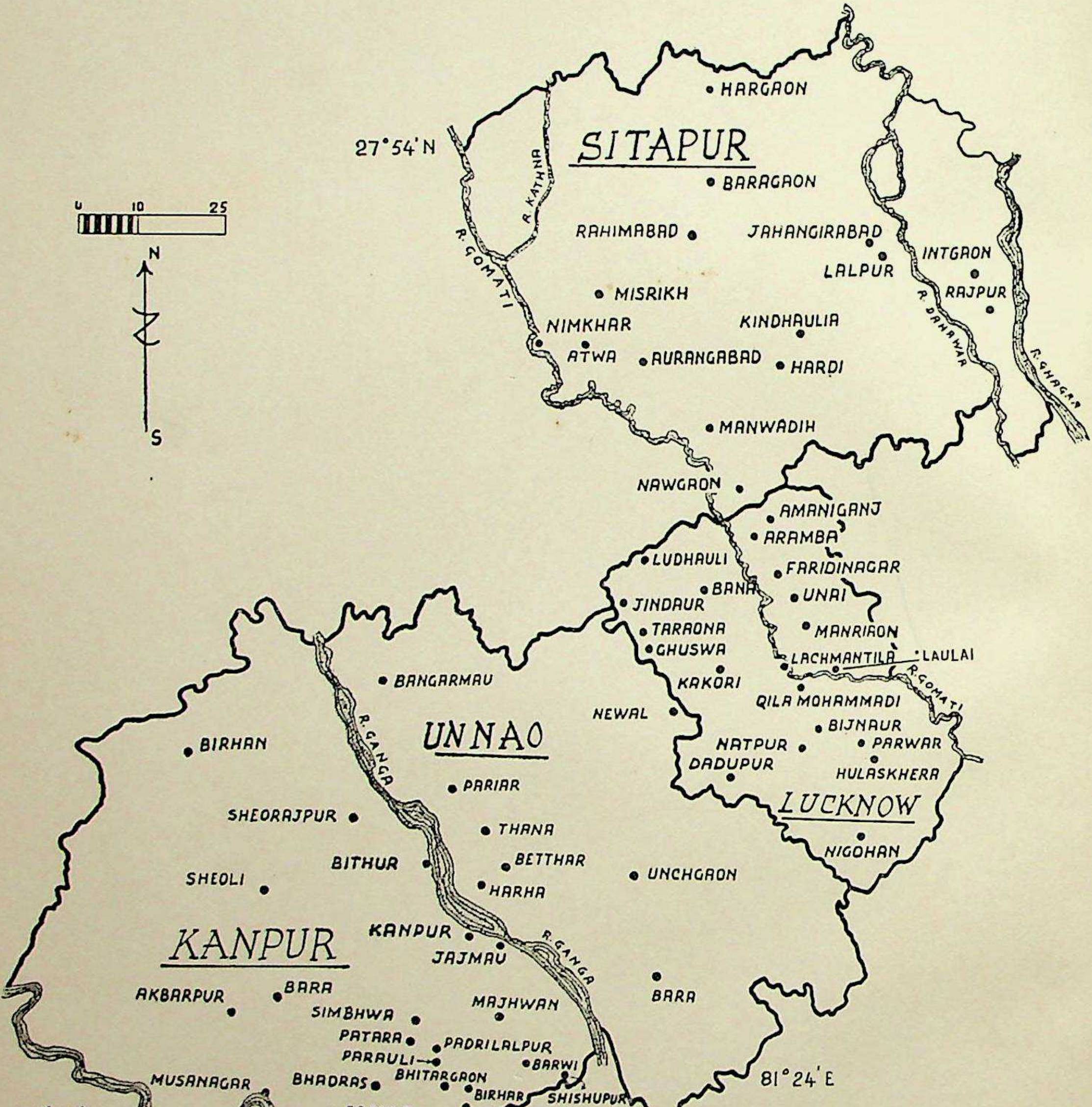
JUPHS, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.*

N.B.P. Ware, *Northern Black Polished Ware.*

P. G. Ware, Painted Grey Ware.

SML, State Museum, Lucknow.

T.T.R., Treasure Trove Report.


SITAPUR
HARGAON
BARAGAON
RAHIMABAD
JAHANGIRABAD
LALPUR
INTGAON
RAJPUR
MISRIKH
NIMKHAR
ATWA
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GHUSWA
MANRAON
LACHMANTILA
LAULAI
KAKORI
QILA MOHAMMADI
R. GOMATI
NEWAL
BIJNAUR
NATPUR
PARWAR
DADUPUR
HULASKHERA
LUCKNOW
NIGOHAN
UNNAO
BANGARMAU
R. GANGA
PARIAR
THANA
BETTHAR
HARHA
UNCHGAON
BARA
BIRHAN
SHEORAJPUR
BITHUR
SHEOLI
KANPUR
KANPUR
JAJMAU
R. GANGA
AKBARPUR
BARA
SIMBHWA
MAJHWAN
PATARA
PADRILALPUR
PARAULI
BARWI
MUSANAGAR
BHADRAS
BHITARGAON
BIRHAR
SHISHUPUR
PARAS
RAR
NIMBIAKHERA
81°24'E
25°26'N
R. YAMUNA
79°31'E

COPPER HOARDS

The State Museum, Lucknow, has a copper celt from the village Hardi in tehsil Sidhauli of the Sitapur district. Of a flat type, with a square butt and splayed-out cutting edge, it has been noticed by B. B. Lal in his assessment of "Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin".[1] We describe below some hitherto unnoticed copper objects from the village Kindhaulia in the same sub-division of the Sitapur district :

1. Pl. 1, 1 is a shouldered hatchet or *paraśu* with a rough cutting edge.
2. Pl. 1, 2 seems to be the broken part of a somewhat similar axe.
3. Pl. 1, 3 is a flat axe of a stocky sub-rectangular form with a splayed-out cutting edge.
4. Pl. 1, 4 is a complete specimen of the usual type of axe with outstretched wings and a convex butt.
5. Pl. 1, 5 is a somewhat uncommon flat celt of a rectangular outline, the cutting edge of which is not well pronounced.
6. Pl. 1, 6 seems to be the fragment of a shouldered axe.
7. Pl. 1, 7 is a perfect specimen of the common type of axe with outstretched wings, rectangular sides, and a square butt.[2]
8. Pl. II, 1 is a flat axe with a square butt, slightly concave sides, and a splayed edge, found at Khairullapur in the same sub-division.
9. Pl. II, 2 is a shouldered axe with a convex butt, rectangular sides and a splayed edge.
10. Pl. II, 3 is a broad shouldered axe with a well-pronounced edge, a square butt, and protruding arms that perhaps helped to fasten it firmly to a stick with the help of a cord. But it also looks like a human head, and if so, may represent an anthropomorph quite distinct in appearance from those found elsewhere.[3]

---

[1] Lal, B. B., *Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem, Ancient India,* No. 7, 1951, p. 27.

[2] Compare with Lal, *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, B.1.

[3] Cf. Lal, B. B., *op. cit.*, Pls. V, I ; VI, A ; IX, 1, 2 ; X, A.

A few other places in the Lucknow region have also yielded copper implements, noticed as well as hitherto unnoticed. A fragmentary celt with a straight cutting edge and tapering sides has been found in village Deoti of the Mohanlalganj sub-division of the Lucknow district.[1]

A local temple at Pariar in Unnao district houses a flat celt, and a shouldered celt, along with several harpoons of copper of the variety typical of the period under review.

Bithur in Kanpur district has yielded many copper implements, such as 26 flat celts, 7 shouldered celts, 7 harpoons, and an antennae sword, now shared by the Indian Museum, Calcutta; State Museum, Lucknow; the Municipal Museum, Allahabad; and also the local temple.[2] The flat celts of Bithur have a square butt, sometimes large, slightly concave sides and working edges splayed out a little. There is also an unusual type, with a rectangular shape and only a little pronounced cutting edge. The other celts found there show clear shoulders where the blade joins the sides. The Bithur mound also yielded a chert blade, besides the grey and N.B.P. wares.

The site of Sheorajpur in Kanpur district has yielded a few interesting copper anthropomorphs of massive size with well pronounced ridges round the heads.[3]

The anthropomorphs found here and elsewhere have long baffled archaeologists as to their true nature and purpose. "Their purpose and whether indeed their anthropomorphism is intentional are alike unknown.[4]" Since they are associated with weapons of copper such as axes, harpoons and swords, they seem to represent the god of weapons, the protector of the faithful and the slayer of their foes. Not this alone, he also probably ensured their success in hunting for their food. The incurved arms announce the application of energy for affording protection and also the power to strike.

The State Museum, Lucknow, has a set of twelve copper implements found at Gandhauli, Sitapur. Most of them are flat celts of more or less rectangular shapes with clearly pronounced edges.[5] A few scrapers and hatchets also form part of this collection.

---

[1] Fuhrer, *Monuments and Antiquities of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1891, pp. 168 and 172; Smith, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, p. 53, Pl. VII.

[2] Cf. Anderson, *Catalogue of Archaeological Collections in Indian Museum*, II (1883), p. 395; Smith, *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIV, (1905), p. 232; XXXVI, (1907), p. 53; Shastri, H. N., *JASB*, New Series, XI, (1915), pp. 1-6.

[3] *AI*, 7, p. 29. The anthropomorphs are exhibited in the State Museum.

[4] Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, 1959, p. 123.

[5] Cf. *Consolidated Report on the working of the State Museum, Lucknow*, U. P., 1961, pl. 1, fig. I

Many hoards of copper tools and weapons found at more than forty sites between the upper Ganga and Orissa[1] have attracted worldwide attention and attempts at unmasking the true significance of their mysterious presence. Weapons of copper, and sometimes of bronze, used by the warriors and hunters of this age in the Ganges valley and beyond, included barbed spears and harpoons, and swords, found in hoards at places as far apart as Fatehgarh in the upper Ganges valley, and Kallur in Hyderabad, Deccan.[2] Heine-Geldern assigned the copper antennae swords from the Ganges plain to the Vedic period.[3] But the Kallur swords in the south, similar in shape and design, present an insuperable difficulty, associated as they are with an early prehistoric site.[4] Aryans could have had little to do with the south at such an early date. In 1961 a seven inch dagger or spearhead of copper with a faint mid-rib and flat antennae was found at Chandoli in Poona district in association with the Jorwe-Nevasa pottery of about 1000 B.C.[5] Another hoard from Khurdi in district Nagaur (Rajasthan) has recently been brought to light.[6] B.B. Lal points out that Childe, Piggott, Wheeler and Haimendorf agree with him that the hoards need no longer be associated with the Aryans.[7] The flat copper and bronze axes present in the Ganges basin and at Gungeria, are similar in general terms to the flat axes of the Harappa culture.[8] Piggott thinks that the 'bar-celt' among these finds is derived from the very narrow and elongated axes unearthed at Chanhudaro, and draws attention to a small version of the bar-celt among the copper tools from Nal in Baluchistan.[9] But Sir Mortimer Wheeler holds that "the barbed harpoons, the spear-heads with basal projection, the bar-celts, the so-called anthropomorphs, the shouldered axes are not Indus types'', and also points to the absence of the distinctive Indus blade with curved end from the copper hoards.[1] It seems that there was an initial diffusion of metallurgical techniques eastwards from the Indus Valley, even though most of the Gangetic tools and weapons owed their origin to local inventiveness. The finds of these weapons may be contemporary with the last days of Harappa or the period immediately following its fall.[2]

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[1] See V. A. Smith, *The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India, Indian Antiquary* 1905, Vol. 34, pp. 230 ff.; *The Copper Age and Prehistoric Implements of India-Supplement, Indian Antiquary* XXXVI, (1907), pp. 53-55; H. Shastri, *Recent Additions to our knowledge of the Copper Age Antiquities of the Indian Empire, JASB, New Series*, XI, 1915, pp. 1-16; Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, pp. 236-8; Lal, B. B., *op. cit.*; Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan, London*, 1959, pp. 119-127.

[2] Cf. S. D. Singh, *Ancient Indian Warfare with Special Reference to the Vedic Period*, pp. 91-92.

[3] R. Heine-Geldern, *Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans, JISOA*, IV (1936), pp. 87-113; *New Light on the Aryan Migration to India, Bulletin American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, V, (June 1937), pp. 7-16.

[4] *Cf.* A. V. Naik, *A note on the Copper Swords from Kallur, BDCRI*, Vol. IV, No. 4 1943, pp. 376-378.

[5] Sankalia, *Prehistory and Protohistory in India and Pakistan*, p. 223.

[6] Cf. *Indian Archaeology* 1960-61 A Review, p. 27, Pl. XXXIV. 2.

[7] Lal, *Protohistoric Investigation, Ancient India*, No. 9, p. 93.

[8] Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[9] *Ibid.*

At Bisauli and Rajpur Parsu, two of the copper hoard sites, an ill-fired, thick ochre-washed pottery was discovered, though not together with any copper objects. Since such pottery also occurs in the lowest layer at Hastinapur below the Painted Grey ware, Lal and Sankalia suggest that the copper hoards might belong to the pre-Aryan people who made the earlier ochre-washed pottery. Y. D. Sharma, too, holds that the ochre-coloured pottery and the copper implements found in a hoard at Bahadarabad in the Saharanpur district of U. P., go together.[3]

---

[1] Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, pp. 125-27. He places the hoards somewhere about 1000 B.C.

[2] S. D. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[3] *Indian Prehistory*, (Edited by Misra and Mate), 1964, p. 128.

PROTOHISTORIC SITES

LACHMAN ṬĪLĀ (LUCKNOW)

On the southern bank of the river Gomati, the silent spectator of many upheavals, stands the now famous Lachman *Ṭīlā*, redolent of old memories and romantic legends. Originally a vast sprawling mound, the Lachman *Ṭīlā* has been largely encroached upon by the Lucknow Medical College, and a part of what remains is covered by a mosque going back to the days of Aurangzeb. As faith and legend would have it, the foundations of Lucknow were laid here by Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma. The historicity of the tradition is open to doubt, though the antiquity of the mound is attested by the discovery of the P. G. ware on its surface together with numerous potsherds of other varieties.

The extant mound is approximately 200 m. long, 120 m. wide, and 5 m. high. Sherds of the P. G. ware of a fine fabric and ashy to dark-grey colour bearing painted designs and motifs of simple bands in black pigment have been found. A few sherds of the N.B.P. ware have also been noticed on the northern face of the mound beside the river. Black and red ware, black polished ware, black-slipped ware, grey ware of fine, medium and coarse fabrics, grey ware with red slip on the exterior surface, ware with red slip or wash, glazed ware (pre-Mughal),[1] a potter's stamp, spouts and terracotta figurines of animals,[2] are among the common finds at the site. The broken pottery includes bowls, dishes, basins and vases, etc.

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DADUPUR (LUCKNOW)

Near Banthra on the Lucknow-Kanpur road is a protohistoric site of great promise. Overlooking the village of Dadupur across its protecting shadows, the enormous mound dominates the green landscape for miles around. Literally littered with bricks and broken pottery, the tell measures about 250 m. in length on its east-west axis, 150 m. in breadth on the north-south axis, with a height of about six metres. A winding *nālā* flows along the northern face of the mound, cutting deep into it. Pottery lies huddled on the surface along the outer fringes, with a concentration on the eastern and northern periphery of the mound. The oldest potsherds are found on the northern side of the mound along the *nālā*. Certain coins, said to have been found by the villagers, could not be traced.

---

[1] H. Waddington, *AI*, I, 1946, pp. 72 ff.

[2] e.g., the trunk of an elephant and the neck of an indistinct animal.

The earliest pottery found at Dadupur is the Painted Grey ware bearing either a trefoil design in black pigment, or spiral motifs, or a simple band and oblique lines terminating at one point. The other interesting wares here are the Painted Red or the Painted Grey with a chocolate slip, bearing a simple band design or oblique lines in black pigment. Some curious red ware sherds of perforated vessels with stands are met with on the mound, and one finds it difficult to determine whether, when in use, they served as lids for milk-pots on the fire to allow the steam to escape easily, or as containers of little lamps casting their rays of light in pretty patterns through their perforated holes? Fine grey ware bowls with incurved and sharpened rims bearing impressed designs of concentric circles, black and red ware, reddish-brown sherds, and globular bowls of the black-polished ware are also found at the site. A channel-spouted bowl of red fabric is almost similar to the specimen found at the chalcolithic site of Navda Toli[1] (Madhya Pradesh). Whether this represents any affinity between these two cultures cannot be ascertained owing to the paucity of available evidence. Bowls and dishes of the Northern Black Polished variety with straight and featureless rims, black-slipped ware, buff-slip ware, bowls and dishes of red ware with incurved rims and a fine fabric, painted miniature bowls, spouted basins, terracotta dishes with grooves at the edge and graffiti in the centre, and terracotta animal figurines, found at the site, hold out the promise of a rich reward to prospective archaeology. Glazed ware of a later date may also be picked up from the surface of the mound.

DARIYAPUR AND PARIAR (UNNAO)

Both the sites have yielded sherds of the P.G. and the N. B. P. wares.[2]

JAHANGIRABAD (KANPUR)

The village has yielded the P.G. ware, the black and red, and also N.B.P., wares.[3]

JAJMAU (KANPUR)

The antiquity and importance of the site is attested by the discovery of both the Painted Grey and N.B.P. wares there.[1] The enormous mound overhanging the Gangā was once fortified ; and the place is mentioned by Alberuni as a stage on the highway from Kanauj to Prayag.[2]

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[1] Sankalia H. D., *Indian Archaeology Today*, p. 86, Pl.2(a).

[2] *IA*, 1962-63, p. 39.

[3] *IA*, 1965-66, .p 96 (Cyclostyled copy).

The site has also yielded the black polished ware, Kuṣāṇa red ware and a tribal coin, sculptures and terracotta figurines, seals, discs and weights. A stone fragment depicts a seated devotee flanked by creepers ; while another bears the headless figure of a lady seated at her ease, supporting the weight of her curves on her right hand. Another medieval sculpture, damaged, depicts the lower part of a well-clad deity with jewels dangling from his robes.[3]

Noteworthy amongst the terracottas are the figures of a caparisoned horse, another saddled horse, a goat, a dog, a ram and a bull. An interesting terracotta bust of a male dates from the Kuṣāṇa period ; and that of a female from the Gupta period.

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[1] *IA*, 1961-62, p. 57.

[2] *District Gazetteer*, Vol. XIX, p. 187.

[3] *CRSML*, pp. 167-68.

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY HISTORIC SITES

FARIDINAGAR (LUCKNOW)

The lofty mound beside the village represents an early historic site, and is strewn with broken bricks and pottery. It measures 170 m. in length on its east-west axis, 90 m. in width on its north-south axis, and 7 m. in height at its uppermost elevation. The ancient wares found here include a fine grey ware, the N.B.P. ware and the black and red ware. Broken bowls and dishes are of common occurrence. Other potsherds found at the site represent black polished ware, grey ware of a coarse and medium fabric, coarse red ware, black slipped ware, chocolate slipped ware and glazed ware. A dish with a stand has also been found. Other objects found at the site include a glass bead, a barrel-shaped copper bead, a terracotta bead, a terracotta horse figurine and gamesmen.

MARIAON (LUCKNOW)

Roughly five miles north-east of Lucknow stands the tall tell of Maṛiaon littered with broken bricks and pottery. It measures 330 m. in length, 150 m. in width, and 5 m. in height. The greater part of the mound is either inhabited or under cultivation. One notices the N.B.P. ware scattered all over the mound in great profusion almost at all levels except the top, where glazed and other medieval wares are to be found. Dishes with incurved rims, and bowls with sharp incurved rims, are frequently met with. Large bricks measuring 45 cms. X 25 cms. X 9 cms. have also been found along with *lakhauri* bricks. A fine red ware in a meagre quantity has also been found on the lowest surface of the mound. Among the other wares strewn over the mound mention may be made of a red ware of coarse and medium fabric, carinated *hā̃ñḍīs,* knife-edged bowls, inverted-baked ware, inkpot-lids, grey ware with inturned rims, red ware with criss-cross designs, black-slipped ware and the black polished ware. Terracotta discs similar to the one found at Hastinapur[1] (period III) have also been discovered.

According to local tradition Maṛiaon was the seat of the legendary saint 'Muṇḍa'. The site is certainly old, as evidenced by the available pottery.

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[1] *AI*, X. XI, p. 13.

BANA (LUCKNOW)

Another early historic site is Bana. The mound here is almost square, covering an area of 300 m. on each side, going up to a maximum height of about 6 m. The finds here include the N.B.P. ware represented by different shapes of dishes and bowls with incurved rims, a fine grey ware, red ware, black and red ware, black polished ware, and black-slipped ware. A few foundation walls built of burnt bricks, measuring 45 cms. × 30 cms × 9 cms. still stand on the mound. A terracotta female figurine has also been found. A few coins were reportedly picked up by the villagers; but their whereabouts are now unknown.

Myths associate the site with the demon Bāṇāsura mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

HULAS KHERA (LUCKNOW)

A lofty mound measuring about 300 m. in length, 160 m. in width and 6 m. in height, is what remains of the ancient site about half a kilometre to the north-west of the village of Hulaskhera. The site is richly strewn with brick-bats and pottery. The finds include the N.B.P. ware, knife-edged bowls,[1] knobbed-lids, flat-rimmed *hā̃ṇḍīs*, a bowl of the Ahichchhatrā type, jars with splayed rims, rimless basins, black-slipped ware, red ware of medium and coarse grains, and a terracotta pestle.

QILA MOHAMMADINAGAR (LUCKNOW)

At the southernmost extremity of Lucknow city lie the remains of what is called Qila Mohammadinagar. The fort in ruins stands atop a mound, which is approximately 240 m. in length and 170 m. in width. The crumbling structure consists of a rampart with five towers on each of the four sides. The remains of the gate can still be traced. The lower parts of the rampart and towers are made of mud, while *kankars* and bricks are generally used to strengthen the upper parts. The vestiges of the fort cover a square area of about 160 m. on each side, and are 15 to 20 m. in height. A ditch probably girdled the fortification, while a nearby pond assured the necessary water-supply.

The mound goes back to the early historic period, as evidenced by the discovery of the N.B.P. ware on the surface itself. Bowls and dishes with incurved rims are fairly common. Grey ware of fine and coarse varieties has also been found on the mound. Sherds of the black polished ware (pre-or post-N.B.P. ?), black-slipped ware, red ware of a coarse fabric, black and red ware, grey and red ware, and glazed ware, have been found on the mound. Terracotta figurines of animals, toys and wheels have also been collected from the site.

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[1] This bowl has been assigned to c. 850-1100 A. D. *Cf. A I*, X-XI, p. 21.

The antiquity and importance of the site is not to be doubted. The settlement here must have been roughly contemporary with that of the Lachman *Ṭīlā* in the north-western part of the city. The two mounds are indeed pregnant with great possibilities for the reconstruction of the history of Lucknow city.

The fortification of the mound shows several successive phases, though its beginnings may hark back to the early N.B.P. phase.

KALLI PACHHIM (LUCKNOW)

The local mound covered with broken bricks and regional ware measures about 200 m. in length, 180 m. in breadth, and 14 m. in height. The pottery found here includes a fine grey ware, black polished ware, black-slipped ware, red ware, and also glazed ware. Terracotta discs and beads have also been found. A part of the mound now lies beneath the structure of a modern temple.

BARAILIA (LUCKNOW)

The big mound to the south-west of the village measures about 215 m. in length, 120 m. in breadth, and 6 m. in height. A few sherds of fine grey, black polished and red wares have been found at the site, which may date back to the early historic period.

THANA (UNNAO)

There are two mounds situated respectively to the east and west of the village Thana. The more extensive western mound rises more than 7 metres at its highest; while the eastern is low and flattish. N.B.P. sherds have been collected from rain-gullies in both the mounds. Another interesting find is that of a terracotta female head, assignable to the pre-Gupta period.[1]

BETTHAR, DEEH, KAHINJAR (UNNAO)

The N.B.P. ware has been found at all these sites.[2]

LOTAPUR (UNNAO)

Punch-marked coins from Lotapur are now exhibited in the Lucknow Museum.

NEWAL (UNNAO)

The enormous mound at Newal, less than two miles from the town of Bangarmau, yields a rich variety of antiquities to the stray explorer, including the N.B.P. and later wares. The site was visited by Cunningham, who identified it with the Navadevakula of Hiuen Tsang. An old river-bed rings a side of the mound, where terracottas and sculptures ranging from the late Mauryan to the medieval period have been picked up, besides Gupta coins of gold, and Sharki coins of copper.

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[1] *IA*, 1961-62, p. 57

[2] *IA*, 1962-63, p. 39

A striking terracotta specimen represents Ambikā or the divine mother seated on the back of a ram (Pl. VII)[1]. Her ponderous matronly figure, akin to the forms of the early *yakṣīs*, arrests attention ; she wears bracelets, anklets and a girdle ; and the thick folds of her drapery are visible above the ankles. She holds a baby in her left arm nestling close to her bosom ; her head is broken. The heaviness of form, the economy of ornaments, the thickness of the drapery, alike point to an early date, probably late Mauryan.

Another remarkable terracotta, dating from the Kuṣāṇa period, depicts the bust of a man with curly hair and proto-Australoid features (Pl. VIII)[2]. A delightfully candid terracotta head of the Gupta period shows a dandy with his hair daintily groomed in the honey-comb style, a *tilaka* mark on his forehead, his brows knitted up, and his eyes opened as it were with an effort, bespeaking a blissful state of inebriety (Pl. IX)[3].

The best of the terracotta heads from Newal, dating from the Gupta period, delineates Ardhanārīśvara in his tranquil beauty (figs 16-18)[4], expressive alike of his universality and autonomy as Mahādeva, 'whose half is Umā'. His ineffable calm illustrates the deepest mystery of creation which disrupts the original unity of the male and female principles exemplified in this beatific merger of Umā with Maheśvara. The world is indeed created in and through diversity, which is dissolved when reabsorbed into the primal germ, just as the male and female are created different, but discover their true identity in the deletion of that difference.

A skull and a crescent moon adorn the locks of Śiva on the right interwoven with the flowers of *dhatūrā*, and a man's ear-ring dangles from his ear. Umā sports a round ring in her ear ; and her delicately done hair is bedecked with the blooms of *aśoka*. Her tender grace is matched by the benign majesty of Śiva in this rare representation of Ardhanārīśvara in terracotta.

MUSANAGAR (KANPUR)

The vast sprawling mound above the Yamuna at Musanagar has yielded an interesting neolithic celt now exhibited in the Lucknow

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[1] We are indebted to Mr. Skanda Kumar Agrawala for this photograph.

[2] Photograph furnished by Mr. Skanda Kumar Agrawala.

[3] Photograph furnished by Mr. Skanda Kumar Agrawala.

[4] Cf. Agrawala, R.C., *Unpublished sculptures and terracottas in the National Museum, New Delhi, and some allied Problems*, *East and West*, Vol. 17, no. 3-4, 1967, figs. 6-8.

Museum,[1] besides various wares of pottery, such as the N.B.P., the black polished and the coarse red. Terracottas, sculptures and architectural items abound, ranging from c. 200 B. C. to c. 1200 A. D.

An early terracotta seal, probably Śungan, shows two bulls approaching a tree, one of them seeking to scratch his head against its trunk.[2] A lovely terracotta plaque (fig. 19) portraying Kāmadeva with outstretched wings, dating from the Śunga period, seems to suggest that true and tender love knows no physical barriers.[3] And another Śunga terracotta plaque depicts an amorous couple oblivious of the world around, their faces suffused with the glow of passion, the male caressing the chin of the female who seems to respond to his overtures with a befitting bashfulness (fig. 20).[4] Yet another plaque of the same period figures a charming young lady standing, her right hand held akimbo, and the left pointing to her ear-ring ; her coiffure being characteristically Śungan.

Kuṣāṇa terracottas, too, abound ; and the noteworthy examples are the figure of a headless male walking away with a purse (?) ; a female figure playing on a drum ; headless lady with a shapely body offering a fruit (suggestive of the fruit of her youth ?) to a parrot on her forearm (fig. 21) ; the bust of a lady with a pinched nose, lenticular eyes and nicely done hair ; the head of a wide-eyed, open-mouthed lady, her hair indicated by dots ; and the figure of a male sporting a moustache, his headgear adorned with a lotus.

A Gupta terracotta bust represents a *yakṣa* with an oval face capped by a tall turban ; and two heads represent two ladies, one's hair being arranged almost like a wig, the other's being dressed in a trefoil pattern.[5]

Musanagar is rich alike in sculptures going back to c. 2nd century B. C. The head of a man with a moustache, a stone fragment depicting scampering stags (?), a cross-bar showing an elephant trampling on foliage, and another bearing the figure of a fish-tailed alligator as well as a conventional lotus medallion, all date from the Śunga period.

A Kuṣāṇa female head is adorned with a covering secured by a twisted fillet ; and a contemporary male bust wears a crown, and holds a dagger in his upraised right hand.

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[1] *Consolidated Report on the working of the State Museum, Lucknow, U.P.*, 1961, pp. 5-6.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 140 ; SML, no. 55. 118.

[4] SML, no. 55. 123.

[5] *CRSML*, pp. 190-193.

The Mukta Devi temple at Musanagar has numerous sculptures of varying dates haphazardly fixed on the walls of the shrine. The early pieces include railing pillars and cross-bars embellished with Śunga and Kuṣāṇa motifs, and obelisks with carved panels depicting myths and legends, and a corner railing pillar bearing beautiful representations of Śiva and Pārvatī.

One of these corner railing pillars of old portrays pairs of men and women in happy dalliance, and on the front top panel a two-armed male figure with a crown, seated on a throne. Seated in *lalitāsana* with his phallus erect (*ūrdhva retas*), he sports a fluted head-gear, heavy ear-rings, bracelets, and a *dhotī* with all its folds. His right hand promises protection (*abhaya*), and the left holding a vase rests on his thigh. A lion sits below, as obsequious as a dog.

Three subsidiary figures arise from the body of the deity, one from each shoulder, and the third behind the head.

The topmost panel on another side of the same pillar depicts a two-armed bare-headed standing figure with his phallus, too, erect. The right hand rises in *abhaya* ; the left carries a vase or vessel ; and a lion tamely stands beside the deity looking at his master with his head turned back. A corpulent attendant on the left completes the composition.

Both the deities, seated and standing, seem to represent Śiva who is not infrequently described and depicted as *ūrdhva medhra* alike in literature and early sculpture.

A lovely image dating from the late Gupta period represents a goddess seated on a full-blown lotus, holding a vessel in her left hand, while the right is raised in *abhaya mudrā*.

A medieval image depicts a lady standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, holding a lotus-stalk in her right hand, touching the head of a dwarf with the left. A tree stands beside her, and it is uncertain whether she is a goddess or an ordinary mortal.

Numerous medieval sculptures are still extant, as for instance, heads of Śiva and *Tīrthankara*, those of ordinary males and females, besides an interesting image of *Rāvaṇānugraha*. Musanagar, no doubt, remains one of the most promising sites beckoning to the spade of the prospective archaeologist.

SUNDHAILA (KANPUR)

The large mound at Sundhaila is notable for the Kuṣāṇa red ware, and also medieval sculptures, such as those of Śiva-Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and Śārdūlas.

BIHUPUR (KANPUR)

The village has an immense mound covered with various wares, such as the N.B.P., the black polished and the coarse red, as well as red-slipped potsherds. Medieval sculptures are met with, such as the images of Śiva and Śiva-Pārvatī, heads of Śiva and other miscellaneous representations.

PADRI LALPUR (KANPUR)

The lofty mound here yields the N.B.P., the black polished, and the Kuṣāṇa red wares.

BHADRAS (KANPUR)

The village has a large mound littered with the N.B.P., the black polished, the grey and coarse red wares.

LAL BHAGAT (KANPUR)

The site is important principally for its sculptures. An image of Sūrya found here is almost similar to that of the same god at Bhāja. He rides on a chariot drawn by four horses; a female attendant on the left holds an umbrella above the deity; while another on the right carries a fly-whisk. The figures at the bottom represent the demons of darkness.[1] The sculpture seems to date from the early Kuṣāṇa period.

A Gupta terracotta torso of a male depicts him in the *abhaya* attitude. A waist-band below the flabby stomach seems to support the weight of self-satisfied prosperity.

ATTWA, LALPUR (KANPUR)

N.B.P. sherds have been found at Attwa and Lalpur in the Kanpur district.[2]

BARHAT (KANPUR)

The N.B.P. ware has been noticed at Barhat.[3]

UJHAND AND UMARGARH (KANPUR)

Both the sites have yielded the N.B.P. ware.[4]

BARA, BITHUR, MOTI, AND KISHANPUR (KANPUR)

N.B.P. sherds have been collected at all these sites.[5]

BAIRI AND SANON (KANPUR)

N.B.P. sherds have been found at both these sites.[6]

HATHUMA (KANPUR)

The site has yielded a large number of punch-marked coins of different varieties, of thin, thin-round, flat—irregular, round and rectangular shapes. Designated as *kārṣāpaṇas*, these coins are now deposited in the State Museum, Lucknow.

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[1] *JISOA*, XVI, p. 55; *ASIAR*, 1929-30, p. 133, Pl. XXXI, d,e.

[2] *IA*, 1965-66, p. 96 (Cyclostyled copy).

[3] *IA*, 1961-62, p. 57.

[4] *IA*, 1957-58, p. 69.

[5] *IA*, 1955-56, p. 71.

[6] *IA*, 1962-63, p. 70.

MANWA DIH (SITAPUR)

Manwa Dih in the Sidhauli sub-division of Sitapur district is doubtless a most promising site with a number of mounds around the village. Recent explorations have revealed a continuous sequence from c. 3rd-2nd century B. C. upto the 11th–12th century A. D. The N. B. P. and the black polished wares have been found, besides Pañcāla coins, Kuṣāṇa terracottas, inscribed seals and sealings, votive tanks, Gupta terracottas, knife-edged bowls, medieval coins, terracottas and sculptures, glazed pottery and the other associated wares.

The terracottas found at one of the mounds deserve special mention for their plastic beauty and technical excellence. The most striking specimens of the Kuṣāṇa period include the beautifully executed figure of a male drum-beater holding a pair of drums; a representation of mother-goddess with a strange-looking face and small breasts, her hair tied in a knot, wearing a garland around her neck and a girdle around her waist (fig.22-23); another mother–goddess with a boar's face seated on a pedestal; a human head with a flat nose and unpleasant eyes and combed hair tied with a fillet (fig.24); a typical male head with a head-dress, round face and moustaches, bulging eyes and a flat nose; the bust of a female adorned with a neck ornament; the bust of a male with lozenge-shaped eyes and an incised mouth-mark, wearing a garland; and a votive tank, too, with a man in it. Terracotta reperesentations of animals also occur, such as a horse-head with rhomboid eyes and stamped circular designs on the face; the broken figure of a horned ram; and another ram with apertures on either side for fixing wheels to serve as a kind of a toy-cart.

There are several Gupta terracottas, too, representing gods, men and animals. A lovely head of Śiva with *jaṭā-jūṭa* embellished with a crest, elongated ears and an oval face with full lips, and closed eyes, shows the serenity of divine meditation (fig. 25). The charming head of Gaṇeśa with a trefoil head-dress, *sūrpakāra* ears and a broken trunk, reveals a gaily aesthetic sensibility. Another terracotta depicts a male head with an oval face, lotus eyes and thick lips, curly hair flowing down to the shoulders, with an *uṣṇīṣa* on the top (fig. 26).

The head of a female found here shows the grace and tenderness of treatment typical of the Gupta period. The tastefully groomed hair is tied in a top-knot, while the straggling locks dangle on the shoulders; the lotus-eyed beauty wears a 'liquid, come hither' expression. Another fine female figure has her combed hair tied with a fillet ; her-ear-rings match her fine drapery; the left hand is placed on the hip, while the right hangs loosely down suggesting a pose of passionate languor. The broken legs do not fail to convey a sense of feminine warmth and tenderness. Yet another female figure in the same posture, her head and feet gone, is remarkable for the softness of its contours. Two lively terracottas represent the radiance of motherhood in the motif of the mother-and-child. Decked with ornaments, such as ear-rings, necklaces, armlets and bracelets, one of them covering a part of her head with a fine drapery in the still current Indian fashion, the happy mothers hold a child each in their arms; and the babies make the most of the situation by playfully fondling their mothers' breasts that promise them the milk of life itself.

There is a specific reason why the female figure, earthly or divine, was represented with such a warmth of feeling, delicacy of detail and refinement of taste symbolic of man's eternal desire for woman. Does not the *Ṛgveda* say : 'Man longs for woman, natural as the parched frogs longing for the rains' ? The artist was almost invariably a male, and his creations, therefore, mirrored the cravings of his aching heart and the ecstasy of his dreams. It is indeed a pity that the students of Indian art have generally failed to apprehend this ardent and tormented male sensibility behind the feminine creations of the Indian sculptural art.

All this is not to say that the all-important male was neglected by the artists of the Gupta period. Instances of inspired portrayal abound ; and some of them have been already discussed. A charming terracotta represents a delicately delineated male figure with erect hair, prominent eye-brows and full lips adding to the attractiveness of a faultless oval face. His slender figure has the vivacity of youth, which he drapes with his fine *dhotī* going down to his knees. There are other male heads, too ; the one with a beak-nose, thick lips and curly hair ; the other with a trefoil head-dress ; and a god with a halo behind his head. Of great interest is a male head with a bright red slip, his hair arranged in a tuft secured with a fillet, looking wide-eyed at the maddening mess of life's mundane drama.

The animal world does not go unrepresented. The figure of a bull sensitively executed in the true tradition of the Gupta art, and the head of a horse with life-like features, are most noteworthy.

The Gupta artist sees beauty in life and its myriad moving forms, and tries with a singular success to translate it into his creations—paragons of harmony between faith and form, hopes and fears, pains and pleasures. The quest of beauty on earth is the quest of the divine ; and on the spiritual plane the Gupta artist succeeds in finding forms through which he seeks to depict the formless. He bridges the gap between heaven and earth and gods and men in the passionate profession of their faith in life notwithstanding its evanescence, and in its enjoyment with a restraint which is the true hallmark of classicism.

Manwa Dih has also yielded terracottas of the medieval period. They are different in flavour and treatment, and are notable for their bulging eyes, long noses, pointed chins and trite appearances. Inspiration yields place to repetitive techniques and elaborate ornamentation. Particularly noteworthy for its robust realism is the torso of a male figure suggestive of youthful vigour (Fig. 27). Several animal figures have also been found, such as a charming little horse with traces of a bridle held in the hand of the rider whose figure is gone (Fig. 28) ; a hooded snake with scales on his body ; an embellished elephant-head ; a humped bull and a horned ram.

NAZIRABAD (SITAPUR)

An excavation at Nazirabad revealed a sequence ranging from the N.B.P. ware to the medieval period.[1]

LANGHANIA (SITAPUR)

The place has yielded a few terracottas of the Śunga period.[2]

TAKAULI (SITAPUR)

The N.B.P. and other wares occur at the site.

PAREWA KOT (SITAPUR)

The mound here is covered with different types of pottery, the earliest being the N.B.P. ware.

SIRAULI DIH (SITAPUR)

This mound near the village Kashipur dates back to the period of the N.B.P. ware found in profusion at the site.

BILARIYA (SITAPUR)

The N. B. P. ware has been found here, too, and the mound yields pottery dating from the later periods as well.

HARAGAON (SITAPUR)

The village has yielded, among other finds, a terracotta seal, one side of which depicts a rayed-disc, a tree and a *svastika*, while the other bears the legend *negama*, written in Brāhmī of c. 2nd century B.C.[3]

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[1] *IA*, 1962-63, p. 39.

[2] *IA*, 1958-59, p. 75.

[3] *CRSML*, p. 6.

CHAPTER FOUR

GUPTA SITES AND MONUMENTS

The comparative scarcity of Gupta sites in this region calls for some explanation. No positive proof can be produced in support of the suggestion that most of the Gupta monuments in this region were destroyed by the Muslims in their iconoclastic intransigence. A lone lucky temple at Bhitargaon provides a magnificent illustration of the Gupta architecture, and aslo furnishes an idea of the magnitude of our loss due, possibly, to religious intolerance.

UNAI (LUCKNOW)

Beneath a *pīpal* tree, beside the village of Unai, stands a bust of the goddess Durgā, the lower part of the image being embedded in the earth. Her coiffure sparkles with gems; one of the elongated ears wears a ring; a *nakra kuṇḍala* adorns the other. She wears a necklace round her neck, while her faultless figure peeps through her fine drapery. The attractive, serene face is enlivened by lovely lotus eyes ; and there is a third eye, too, on her forehead. Her breasts are full and taut, and the whole figure expresses the youthful virility of the Gupta sculpture. She is shown with eight arms and a halo behind her head, carrying a shield and a bell in two of her left hands, and a Śiva-lingaṁ in one of her right hands. The remaining hands are all broken.

THE BHITARGAON TEMPLE (KANPUR)

Soaring up to a height of about 21.33 metres, to hold converse, as it were, with the blue sky above, the solitary shrine at Bhitargaon is, despite dilapidation, a structure of unique character, grace and dignity. The drowsy little village of Bhitargaon, seven miles beyond Sarh and about three miles from the Rhind, on the road from Narwal to Ghatampur, seems impervious to the inroads of time, which has, however, left the marks of its ravages on the ancient brick temple dating back to the 5th century A.D.[1] One of the few extant brick shrines which must have been undoubtedly common and widely distributed in the past, as attested by the remains at Parauli, Nimbia Khera, Kurari, Simbhuva, Tinduli,

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[1] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture,* Vol. 1, p. 41.;
Vogel, *ASI, Annual Report* 1908-9, p. 6.

Bahua, Thithora, Baragaon and Unchagaon, the temple at Bhitargaon probably escaped destruction by the invading iconoclasts owing to its comparative inaccessibility.

The building was seen and described by Cunningham, who records the discovery of moulded and carved bricks all over the Punjab and the North Western Provinces. Brick, indeed, was a cheaper building material in the alluvial plains of the north where stone was comparatively scarce; and the middle classes could easily afford the cost of brick constructions; which is why bricks were commonly used for building Buddhist and Brahmanical shrines alike since time immemorial.

The only other temple to which the edifice at Bhitargaon bears any resemblance is the Buddhist shrine at Bodhgaya. The tall tower-like structure rising in diminishing stages to an imposing height stands on a raised platform built on cell-foundations[1]. It is a square of 11.08 m. diameter in plan, though the double-recessed angles give it an almost curvilinear appearance[2]. The projecting porch on the eastern side, approached by a flight of steps, leads through a passage 2.46 m. in length to the central shrine, 4.62 m. square. The square plan of the temple and the *garbhagṛha* was probably derived from the square shape of the Vedic altar[3]; and the early Brahmanical shrines were designed not for any assembly of worshippers, but for the installation of the deity's image in the plain dark sanctum, where the devotee prayed to his god alone. And Brahmanical *bhakti* has been almost invariably individualistic.

The Bhitargaon temple is notable for many constructional expedients of great significance, such as the arcuate mode of its roofing, the double-dome device, and the moulded brick and terracotta ornamentation. Bhitargaon perhaps provides the earliest extant example of the double-dome. The sanctum is capped by a cella of equal size just above it, built alike on a vault system, invisible from outside and inaccessible from within. It is a clever device to add to the height of the *śikhara* without facing the difficulties otherwise involved in such a lofty construction. The double-dome has also been used in the brick temples of Parauli and Kurari in U.P., and Sirpur and Pujaripalli in M.P.

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[1] Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] Brown, P., *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[3] Cf. Kramrisch, Stella, *The Hindu Temple*, I, p. 25 (Calcutta, 1946). The *garbhagrha* also borrowed from the Buddhist *gandha kuti*, which served as a prototype for the early Brahmanical and Buddhist temples. Cf. Agrawala, V.S., *Evolution of the Hindu Temple*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 4.

Since man first laid bricks one upon the other, he felt the difficulty of bridging over spaces and made use of lintels of wood or stone in order to overcome it. "Another method employed to span a void was by means of oversailing the courses of brick until they met, a serviceable but not particularly scientific form of arch found even as early as in the Indus Civilization of 3000 B.C".[1] But as 'the arch never sleeps', the Indian builder had little faith in its stability and hence shied from making any use of it, till the true arch was introduced in India by the Islamic invaders in the 13th century. At Bhitargaon, however, we have one of the scarce examples of an experiment with the round arch in the porch of the temple, composed of bricks "in the form of radiating voussoirs, but placed edge to edge while the vault of the passage into the sanctum is a variation of the same system".[2]

The builder has shown consummate skill in the tasteful treatment of the exterior surfaces with conspicuous string-courses at the right intervals, broken by recessed planes with sunk panels arranged in impeccable relation to one another, as well as to the scheme as a whole. The drawback of flatness and lack of shadow inherent in a brick structure has thus been completely overcome. The Buddhist *caitya* arch has been effectively adapted and converted into a niche for the reception of terracotta panels, and freely applied all over the building.[3]

The bricks of the temple measure 44 cms. × 26 cms. × 7.6 cms., and the technical competence of the whole construction presupposes an age-old tradition behind it. The Bhitargaon edifice is indeed immensely important as almost the sole surviving example of an early phase of temple architecture, which inspired numerous brick structures in this region and beyond for many centuries to come. Even as far afield as the Djeng plateau in Central Jawa, many Indo-Buddhist shrines of stone evince a stylistic similarity with the blushing beauty of this ancient monument ironically reflected in the mouldering red bricks of Bhitargaon.[4]

The terracotta panels cramming the four walls of the temple depict gods and goddesses in beatific bliss, mortal men and women in varying whims of life's fleeting moments, birds and beasts in movement, and flowers lending themselves to pleasing patterns of floral embellishment. The fingerprints of the inspired potters are still visible on many of these plaques pulsating with the vigour and vitality of their creative imagination. We forget the toll of time as we visualise their deft fingers endowing pliant clay with the throb of life itself.

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[1] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture,* I, p. 45.

[2] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture,* I, p. 45.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[4] *Ibid.*

One of the most striking plaques at Bhitargaon depicts Viṣṇu reclining on the coils of Ananta, the endless serpent of eternity, afloat on the ocean of unresolved essence. The god sleeps; but it is a sleep that creates and eternizes life. The lotus springing from his navel unfolds to reveal the creative deity, Brahmā, who expresses the existential force of Viṣṇu in the active propagation of the material worlds. The movement of the other figures, rendered with a poise and finesse characteristic of ivory workmanship, symbolises, as it also forms part of the cosmic rhythm of creation. (Fig. 29).

Another large terracotta plaque (PL. X) depicts Viṣṇu, eight-armed, standing between two *āyudhapuruṣas*. All the figures are endowed with the characteristic poise and dignity of a classical composition, the god and his attendant on the left alive with the sinews of vigour tempered by a mellow suppleness; the female figure on the right gifted with the captivating curves of tender youth. The deity in the centre towers above his attendants, and holds an arrow and a club in the upper right hands ; the third right hand rests caressingly on the shoulder of the female figure ; the normal right rests on the right thigh. Two of the god's hands on the left side carry a bow and a *cakra* (?) ; the third rests on the shoulder of the male attendant ; the fourth is broken.

Viṣṇu wears a *vaijayantī mālā* made of lotus flowers and leaves reaching below the knees ; while the halo behind his head proclaims his divinity. His hair arranged in spiral locks is capped by a crown ; and an *ekāvalī*, armlets and a girdle embellish his person. The translucent drapery of the god beneath the waist shows the symmetry of his contours in this rare eight-armed Viṣṇu image of the Gupta period.

Śiva-Pārvatī are on the other hand represented almost as ordinary mortals. Śiva as the divine lover of the devoted Pārvatī symbolises and sanctifies love on the mundane level.[1] The warmth and the joy of physical union are vividly brought out by the figures almost flowing towards each other in the presence of a chauri-bearer in the corner and dwarfish figures below. Instinct with the intensity of quickening passion, vibrant with the warmth of life itself, the figures of the divine lovers are, despite damage, masterpieces of terracotta modelling.

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[1] *Marg*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, p. 22, fig. 5.

One of the very best panels at Bhitargaon (Fig. 30) depicts Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya as greedy children quarrelling over *laḍḍūs*. The figures almost spring out of the surface; the massive elephant head of Gaṇeśa is in perfect symmetry with his pot-belly ; while his bent legs suggest his comic agility notwithstanding the bulk of his body. The lithe figure of Kārttikeya leaps forward; and the plate of *laḍḍūs* in the left hand of Gaṇeśa vivifies the drama of movement. Balance combines with mobility in this charming panel reflecting, as it does, the sweet and sinless pugnacity of childhood.

Life affirms itself in the sensuous appeal of the human figures that enliven the weary walls of this ancient monument. A definite delight in mundane ardours comes to the fore ; and the artist pronounces the pledge that flesh gives to life in a beautiful panel portraying a pair in *mithuna*. The pliant response of the incurved bodies locked in a lingering embrace reveals the immortal rhythm of love itself.

Several panels (Fig. 31) show the faces of children looking out of their frames. Many moods are delineated; and defiance is discernible in many of the impish lineaments capped by curly hair. The figure of a dwarf with his anguished face turned up in a posture of protest at once attracts attention and sympathy.

The sprightly steed standing on his hind-legs, the meditative monkey, the aggressive cock thrusting his head forward to strike his adversary in a desperate cock-fight, and the fawns and flowers on the other panels triumphantly depict the joys of earthly existence unsullied by the sorrow of transience.

The function of this art is indeed one of the loftiest that art can undertake : the affirmation of faith in life and its charms, and the depiction of the divine creative force in the felicitous forms of the Hindu pantheon. Poor and the commonest of the common, but unquestionably inspired, the potter produces forms with whom men may commune ; and so transcendent is this purpose that he is himself unaware of it as the saint is unaware of his own sainthood.

Misrikh (Sitapur)

The site of Misrikh has yielded many terracottas, more important amongst which is an early-Gupta female head with the hair arranged in thick wavy lines. A lovely terracotta head of Ardhanārīśvara seems to date from a somewhat later period. Animal figurines of the medieval period have also come to light.[1]

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[1] *CRSML*, p. 206.

CHAPTER FIVE

MEDIEVAL SITES AND MONUMENTS

A number of brick shrines in the vicinity of the Bhitargaon temple, erected in c. 9th and 10th centuries A. D., bear witness to the continuity of the building traditions of Bhitargaon. The temples at Chunnar, Parauli and Nimbia Khera evince an unmistakable affinity with the edifice at Bhitargaon; and the shrine at Nimbia Khera deserves special notice for retaining most of its original appearance.

NIMBIA KHERA (KANPUR) ✓

Built on a *pañcāyatana* plan, the temple consists of a central shrine surrounded by four small chapels, one in each corner. The central shrine is octagonal in shape and 8 metres in diameter, and is capped by a sturdy *śikhara* rising up to a height of 15 metres or more (Pl. XI). A projecting porch provides access to the sanctum or *garbhagṛha*; the remains of a pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* represent a later addition. The entire structure is built of bricks, with the exception of the inner entrance to the sanctum elaborately embellished with the carved figures of Gangā, Yamunā and Gaja-Lakṣmī, besides other female attendants. The sanctum houses a Śiva-lingaṁ, 45 cms. in diameter, installed in an *argha*, below which there is a frieze with the figures of Vīṇādhara Śiva and the four-headed Brahmā seated in *utkuṭakāsana*, bounded by a *yogapaṭṭa*.

The corner edifices, about 4 metres square in plan, carry conical *śikharas* approximately 8 metres in height; while a triangular doorway provides access to each of the four cells.

This comparatively small structure, like the other shrines of the group, excels in the disposition of its parts and decorative motifs. The rhythmic effect of light and shade is provided by the receding planes of its walls intersected by the beautiful horizontal lines of the deep string-courses. The prominent vertical bands betoken the vertical ascent of the devotees' prayers, besides giving a suggestion of height as well. The entire sculptural embellishment was cut out of the brick-work after the walls were constructed, and the carvings were carried over at the joints. A deeply recessed false window in the centre of each side served as a niche probably for the installation of an image. A structure of skilled craftsmanship and artistic value, the temple at Nimbia Khera transmits the traditions of Bhitargaon to the shrines of later ages.

Kurtha (Kanpur)

The village, not far from Bhitargaon, has a brick temple of c. 10th century A. D., in a shape of utter dilapidation. The ruins contain brick-carvings and pilasters adorned with the vase and foliage motif. A medieval image of Viṣṇu lies in a state of neglect.

Behta (Kanpur)

About four kilometres from Bhitargaon, Behta boasts a brick temple built on a semi-circular pattern. The old sanctum enshrines a big image locally known as Jagannātha, and has a separate roof supported by twelve pillars adorned with the vase and foliage motif. Medieval images of Viṣṇu, Śeṣaśāyī, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Kātyāyanī, Śiva-Pārvatī, and carved pillars and jambs lie scattered in the temple area.

Rar And Akbarpur Barwi (Kanpur)

Two medieval brick temples, one in each of the two villages, are still extant.

Baragaon (Sitapur)[1]

An archaeological excavation at Baragaon brought to light a Hindu brick temple of the time of the Gurjara Pratihāras.

Unchgaon (Sitapur)

Unchgaon, another excavated site, has a medieval brick-temple, which contains a large number of stone sculptures.

Nasirabad (Sitapur)[2]

The brick-temple in the village has all the characteristics of 10th century architecture.

Saraya Sheikh (Lucknow)

The remains at Saraya Sheikh consist of a large mound and a late medieval temple. Red ware lies scattered all over the place. Broken bowls, dishes and vases of different types have been found. The mound covers the area of an acre, and is about as high as two metres. Knife-edged bowls and glazed ware also occur.

The temple mentioned above measures 14.64 metres on each side and 9.15 metres in height. It is a late medieval structure built of *lakhaurī* bricks, plastered with lime and mortar. A standing image of God Viṣṇu adorns the sanctum. The images of Garuḍa, Balarāma and Hanumān are also to be seen within the cella. This Jagannāth Ji's temple, as it is locally called, was according to local tradition built by Nawab Asafu' d-daula. Proof is, however, lacking, even though the secularism of the Nawab is not in doubt.

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[1] *U. P. District Gazetteers, Sitapur,* 1964, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*

JUGGAUR (LUCKNOW)

The Juggaur mound is strewn with broken bricks and potsherds characteristic of the region. It is about 90 metres in length, 60 metres in breadth, and 3 metres in height. Glazed and other medieval wares are available in abundance. The village proper has a mosque of the late medieval period.

LAULAI (LUCKNOW)

The mound at Laulai covers an area of 90×60 metres, with a height of about 3 metres. Medieval wares abound.

BIJNOR (LUCKNOW)

The mound at Bijnor measures about 90 metres square, and 9 metres in height. The fort of Raja Vijaya Singh, who founded the village according to tradition, once stood here. The pottery scattered over the site dates from the medieval period.

AURANGABAD (LUCKNOW)

The mound is locally known as Natava Dih, and measures about 180 metres in length, 150 metres in breadth, and 9 metres in height. Red ware in large quantities is found here, consisting of broken bowls, dishes and jars. Foundation walls of burnt bricks are also noticed over the mound.

MATI (LUCKNOW)

The Mati remains are represented by an oblong mound littered with broken bricks, pottery and a few mutilated sculptures. The mound measures approximately 275 metres in length, 175 metres in breadth, and 9 metres in height. Foundation walls are visible here and there. The pottery dates from medieval times. The sculptures include broken heads of Śiva, Viṣṇu with a conch, and flying damsels.

NATKUR (LUCKNOW) ✓

The Natkur mound is notable for its medieval pottery, a few sculptures. broken terracottas and a late medieval temple. The mound measures roughly 90 metres in length, 60 metres in width, and 8 metres in height. A standing statue of Umā-Maheśvara in *āliṅgana* pose adorns the mound. The terracotta figures consist of a few broken torsos and three male heads.

The temple mentioned above is built of *lakhaurī* bricks, joined with lime and mortar, and plastered with the same material. It is 3.66 metres square, and 15.25 metres in height, and bears a crude *śikhara*. There is a Śiva-lingaṁ inside the cella.

The Temple was built by a local man named Mr. Kashi Nath.

The temple was built by a local man named Sri Kashi Prasad.

PARWAR PACCHIM (LUCKNOW)

To the east of the village stands a mound covering an area of about 2 acres, with a maximum height of about 2½ metres. Medieval pottery and bricks lie on the surface of the mound.

PARWAR PURAB (LUCKNOW)

The mound here covering about an acre in area may be about a metre in height. Medieval pottery lies scattered over the site.

BANTHRA (LUCKNOW)

The mound at Banthra measures about 60 metres in length, 45 metres in breadth, and 6½ metres in height. Medieval potsherds litter the surface.

BHATGAON (LUCKNOW)

The mound here dates from medieval times, and covers an area of about 90 × 45 × 9 metres. The surface finds include broken bowls, dishes and jars.

AURAWAN (LUCKNOW)

Measuring about 90 metres in length, 45 metres in breadth, and about 2 metres in height, the Aurawan mound rises beside a *nālā*. Early medieval pottery, such as incense-burners, knife-edged bowls and glazed wares, have been found at the site.

PIPARSAND (LUCKNOW).

To the north of the village lies a square mound measuring about 90 metres on each side, and about 8 metres in height. A deep trench was dug in order to carry a canal right across the middle of the mound, many sections of which have thus been exposed. Burnt-brick foundation walls are noticeable at certain places, and early medieval pottery lies scattered over the site.

HARAUNI (LUCKNOW)

The mound on the south-western side of the village covers an acre in area, and is about a metre in height. The site is largely under cultivation. The pottery found is medieval. A modern temple built here some fifty years ago has an early medieval Śiva lingaṁ enshrined in its sanctum.

SARDARNAGAR (LUCKNOW)

The Sardarnagar remains consist of a fort to the west of the village. The fort is square in plan, each side measuring about 400 metres. The rampart, approximately 5 metres in height, is strengthened by twelve towers and numerous battlements. Originally the fort had probably a ditch around it, as evidenced by an encircling depression.

MAURA KHERA (LUCKNOW)

An oblong mound here, 230×155×7 metres, gives evidence of a medieval settlement characterized by the use of glazed wares.

KAKORI (LUCKNOW)

Kakori is an old town standing largely on top of a mound, which has yielded incense-burners, knobbed lids, knife-edged bowls and glazed ware, along with other kinds of pottery. The mound is roughly 100 metres long, 90 metres broad, and 2 metres high. The vestiges of a fort, square in plan, are also noticeable. The rampart, approximately 400 metres on each side, was built of lakhauri bricks.

The other remains here consist of late medieval monuments, such as two mosques, a tomb called Jhanjhi Raza, and another of Hazrat Shah Muhammad Kazim Qalander, locally called Takiya Śarif Kazmia. They are charming little monuments with Saracenic arches.

CHHAONI (LUCKNOW)

The mound at Chhaoni is rather small, covering an area of about an acre, and is about 1½ metres in height. Medieval pottery lies over the surface.

GAROBHIT (LUCKNOW)

It is a small medieval mound extending over an acre in area, and about a metre in height, and has yielded the glazed as well as other medieval wares.

DHOBAILA (LUCKNOW)

Spread over an area of about 2 acres, the mound to the north of the village is covered with brick-bats and medieval pottery.

KHURRAM NAGAR (LUCKNOW)

To the east of the village Khurram Nagar, beside the Kukrail *nālā*, there is a mound stretching over an approximate area of two acres, and about 3 metres in height. Medieval red and glazed wares lie scattered in large quantities all over the site.

BAHERI (LUCKNOW)

The mound on the south of the village covers an area of about 120×90×8 metres. Characteristic medieval pottery is strewn over the surface.

SAIFALPUR (LUCKNOW)

The lofty mound about 245 metres long, 185 metres wide, and 8 metres high, is notable for its early medieval pottery, such as inkpot-lids, incense-burners and knife-edged bowls.

NABIKOT (LUCKNOW)

The remains at Nabi Kot consist of a late medieval temple and a mound measuring about 400 metres in length, 140 metres in width, and 3 metres in height. Medieval pottery is found at the site.

Built of lakhauri bricks, the temple stands over a metre-high plinth and measures 3.9 metres square in plan with projections at the corners, and about 18 metres in height. Rudimentary *śikharas* adorn the upper level; and a Śiva-lingaṁ is enshrined in the sanctum.

ARTI (LUCKNOW)

The mound here rising to a height of about 6 metres, 90 metres in length, and 60 metres in breadth, is covered with brick-bats and early medieval wares.

CHINHUTA KHERA (LUCKNOW)

The small mound in the village proper, covering an area of about half an acre, is covered with brick-bats and regional pottery.

KHARAHUWAN (LUCKNOW)

The big mound to the north of the village measures about 200 metres in length, 90 metres in breadth and 3 metres in height. Red wares,black-slipped ware and inkpot-lids are found at the site.

There is another mound to the west of the village, which is at the moment under cultivation. Red ware lids, bowls, dishes and vases, frequently found over the mound, seem to date from the early medieval period.

A few medieval sculptures may now be seen in a modern temple built over the site. Notable among them are Mahiṣāsuramardinī, the torso of Viṣṇu and his broken head, a terracotta female figure, and another terracotta piece with a floral design.

GHUSWA (LUCKNOW)

The mound in the middle of the village covers an area of about an acre, with a height of 3 metres. Among the finds are medieval glazed wares, brick-bats and glass beads.

KHUSHALPUR (LUCKNOW)

The Khushalpur mound is strewn with brick-bats and regional pottery of the medieval period.

JINDAUR (LUCKNOW)

The large mound here measures about 240 metres in length, 120 metres in breadth, and 8 metres in height. Red ware is found in abundance. Bowls, dishes carinated *hāṅdīs* are frequently found. Glazed ware is also quite common. The site appears to be early medieval.

The site has also yielded a few early medieval sculptures, such as the broken heads of Viṣṇu and Buddha, flying damsels, and damaged male and female figures.

The mound is locally called a *Gaṛhī*, reminiscent, perhaps, of the earlier existence of a fort that is now no more.

TARAONA (LUCKNOW)

The medieval mound inside the village measures about 120 metres square in area, and 5 metres in height. Red ware, coarse-grained grey ware, black-slipped ware and carinated *hāṅḍīs* are among the common finds of the site.

MALIHABAD (LUCKNOW)

The remains at Malihabad consist of a mound, late medieval tombs, the Jama Masjid, the Barah Khambha, and a *bāolī*. The mound is about 120 metres square, and about 7 metres high. Medieval wares are common.

The late medieval tombs and the Jama-Masjid are built of *lakhaurī* bricks, and have the usual Saracenic arches. The Barah Khambha or the twelve-pillared hall seems to have been originally a Hindu structure, which was later translated into a Muhammadan monument. Some of the pillars, despite later repairs, still show the Indo-Aryan style with the vase and foliage motif at the base, and the abacus and capital designs like those seen in the North Indian Hindu shrines.

An alternative explanation may be contained in the suggestion that some of the pillars might have been brought from some desecrated Hindu shrine elsewhere.

RAIPUR (LUCKNOW)

The large mound at Raipur measuring 230 metres in length, 180 metres in breadth, and 5 metres in height, is partly under habitation and partly under cultivation. The finds here include carinated *hāṅdīs*, bowls with beaked, splayed and cordoned rims, red ware of coarse as well as fine fabrics, jars of a coarse fabric, dishes, and terracotta human figures.

As tradition would have it, the site was occupied by Bharron Raja at the time of Muhammad Tughlaq. He was a Śaivite, and built a fort at the site; but no remains exist on the surface. He is said to have been defeated by Muhammad Tughlaq, who annexed his tiny kingdom.

LUDHAULI (LUCKNOW)

About 40 metres square and 6 metres high, the mound here is notable for the medieval pottery lying on its surface, and a few broken medieval sculptures found here. The figures of flying damsels and Gaṇeśa deserve special mention.

ARAMBA (LUCKNOW)

The village has a mound about 30 metres square and 7 metres high, largely inhabited by the local population, with medieval wares and brick-bats to be seen all over the surface.

A few early medieval sculptures are still extant. Mention may be made of an image of Viṣṇu (4′-2″ in height) standing gracefully in *samabhaṅga mudrā*, with a halo behind his head. He holds a conch and a discus in his left hands; a mace in one of his right hands, while the other is held in the *varada mudrā*. The carved figures of flying damsels may be seen above him; Varāha and Nṛsiṁha may be seen on his sides; while female attendants stand below. The main image of Viṣṇu is a refined sculpture that shows a feeling for plastic form. A broken head of Viṣṇu has also been found. An image of a Mother-and-child is remarkable for its tenderness and realism.

AMANIGANJ (LUCKNOW)

The place is noteworthy for a beautiful image of Varāha fashioned in the usual classical mould of medieval art. The deity stands with the right leg outstretched and the left resting on toes, supported by Nāga figures. He has four hands, holding a club in the back right hand, while the front right one is held akimbo; one of the left hands carries a conch, while the other holds a discus. On one of his elbows he supports the goddess *Pṛthvī*, who caresses the snout of Varāha with one of her hands. There is a *kalpa vṛkṣa*, too, over the god.

DILWANSI (LUCKNOW)

The mound to the west of the village rises to a height of 8 metres and is about 200 metres long and 185 metres broad. Early medieval pottery lies over the surface. A recent temple built over the mound enshrines a Śiva-liṅgaṁ of c. 9th-10th century A. D. Some other early medieval sculptures noticed at the site include a figure of Kātyāyanī, a broken head of Śiva, and an image of the buffalo demon.

CHAUGAWAN (LUCKNOW)

The medieval mound at Chaugawan measures about 90 metres in length, 60 metres in breadth, and 3 metres in height, and is covered with brick-bats and regional pottery including glazed wares.

MAHONA (LUCKNOW)

A late medieval temple stands in the village over a plinth measuring about 2.5 metres in height. The octagonal shrine of *lakhaurī* bricks plastered with lime and mortar is enclosed by a boundary wall. The domical roof ends in a finial. An early medieval head of Śiva is enshrined in the sanctum.[1]

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[1] This site was identified by V. A. Smith with Po-si-kia of Hiuen Tsang (*J R A S*, 1898, pp. 523 ff.). The identification is, however, not accepted by others; cf. *J R A S*, 1903, p. 583.

KHAJURI (LUCKNOW)

The mound to the north-west of the village measures about 95 metres in length, 65 metres in breadth, and 5 metres in height. The remains of four small kilns together with early medieval wares may be seen on the surface.

The ruins of a temple of Bihari Lal, as it is locally called, stand on another mound to the south of the village.

KUMHRAWAN (LUCKNOW)

The mound here rises as high as 5 metres, and is about 45 metres long and 30 metres wide. The surface finds include medieval wares, such as incense-burners, knife-edged bowls and glazed pottery. According to a local tradition, there was a Śiva-shrine here, which has now completely disappeared. Some early medieval sculptures may, however, be seen lying on the mound. Mention may be made of a figure of Pārvatī, a male figure, flying Vidyādharas, and the *argha* of a Śiva-lingaṁ.

MAJHAGAWAN (LUCKNOW)

The 90 metre long and 60 metre wide tell to the east of the village is covered with medieval potsherds.

A few medieval sculptures have been placed together by the local people to the west of the village. There is a graceful standing image of Viṣṇu in *samabhaṅga* pose, with one of his right hands in *varada mudrā*, and a left hand holding a conch. A hand on each side is broken. The god wears a *kirīṭamukuṭa*, *vanamālā*, *hāra*, *yajñopavīta*, and other ornaments. The goddess Lakṣmī stands beside the god in a tender *tribhaṅga* pose, holding a lotus in her left hand and a fly-whisk in the right.

Kalki and Nṛsiṁha and the other attendants are carved in low relief.

BHADASARA (LUCKNOW)

The village has a beautiful medieval sculpture representing a male deity (1.40 metres in size) standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose, wearing ear-rings, *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, armlets, anklets, drapery and *yajñopavīta*. There is a halo behind the head. The deity has four hands, holding a rosary and lotus in one of his right hands, while the other holds an indistinct object. The left hands are broken. The figure of a male attendant is carved at the base with a fly-whisk in his left hand, the right held akimbo (*kaṭyāvalambita*). A bird is also shown on the pedestal. The image probably dates from the 11th or the 12th century A.D., and may be a representation of Mārīchi.

UNAI (LUCKNOW)

The Unai mound is about 75 metres long, 45 metres broad, and 2.5 metres high. Medieval pottery lies on the surface.

A few sculptures of c. 9th and 10th centuries A.D., may also be seen in the village proper. There is an image of Kātyāyanī with damaged face and hands, her lion crouching over the buffalo-demon. There is a Śiva-head, and also a figure of Pārvatī wearing a *karaṇḍamukuṭa*, ear-rings, a necklace, armlets and anklets, holding Kārttikeya in her lap on the left side, and carrying a noose in her right hand. The little Kārttikeya holds an indistinct object in his left hand, with his right hand over his knee. A male attendant is also carved in relief.

FATEHPUR (LUCKNOW)

The mound measuring about 60 metres in length, 45 metres in breadth, and 5 metres in height, is littered with medieval pottery.

DIGOI (LUCKNOW)

The village has a sculpture representing a female figure standing in *tribhaṅga* pose. She holds a jar in her left hand, while the right hand rests on her hip. She wears the usual dress and ornaments, with plaited hair. The figure probably represents a goddess who is flanked by a female attendant standing in an identical *tribhaṅga* pose, holding a parasol over the head of the deity. There are two other male attendants standing on either side of the main image. This 12th or 13th century sculpture may probably represent *Gomatī*, whose placation was sought in a bid to secure relief from her flash-floods.

MISRIPUR (LUCKNOW)

The village has a beautiful sculpture of Viṣṇu (1.32 metres). The deity stands gracefully in *samabhaṅga mudrā*, and carries a discus in the back left hand; the front one is broken. The front right hand is held in the *varada* pose; the back right is broken. He wears *a kirīṭamukuṭa*, ear-rings, a neck-ornament, *vanamālā*, a holy thread and drapery. There is a halo behind. In the right recessed corner are the carved figures of two *āyudhapuruṣas*, i. e., Śaṁkhapuruṣa and Padmapuruṣa, in *tribhaṅga* pose. In the left recessed corner stands a cakrāyudhapuruṣa in the *tribhaṅga* pose. And on his left stands Kaumodakī, also in *tribhaṅga* pose. She carries a club in her left hand, and the right is held over the hip. Two devotees are carved at the bottom with their hands folded. The right corner has the following figures as well:

1. Kāmadeva in *ālīḍha* (archer) pose, with a bow in the left hand.
2. Vāmana with a *chatra*.
3. Varāha.
4. Elephant.

5. Śārdūla.
6. A man killing a *makara* with a sword.
7. Śiva-linga worshipped by two devotees.

The following figures are carved in the left corner:

1. Kalki over a horse.
2. Bhairon with bevelled *jaṭā-jūṭa*, holds a bowl in the right hand.
3. Śiva with matted locks, holding a trident in the right hand.
4. Nṛsiṁha tearing the belly of Hiraṇyakaśipu.
5. Elephant.
6. Śārdūla.
7. A male figure killing a *makara* with a dagger.
8. *Samudra-manthana* scene.

The panel on top has the following figures :

1. Elephant.
2. Flying damsels.
3, Vidyādharas holding garlands.
4. Elephant.

In the centre of the panel *Yogāsana* Viṣṇu is seated with two hands placed in *dhyāna mudrā*, and carrying a lotus and discus in the remaining right and left hands, respectively.

Sonwar (Lucknow)

The Sonwar tell measures 95 metres square in area, and 2 metres in height, and is profusely covered with typically medieval wares.

A few sculptures of c. 9th and 10th centuries A. D. deserve notice :

1. A statuette representing *Navagrahas*.
2, Two broken heads of Viṣṇu.
3. Kāmadeva with a bow and arrow.
4. Cāmuṇḍā (about a metre in size) with an emaciated, sunken body and four hands, holding an *aṅkuśa* in one of the right hands; the other three are broken.

Deori (Lucknow)

The Deori remains consist of a mound and a few images. The mound is about 100 metres long, 90 metres broad, and 1.5 metres high. Incense-burners, knife-edged bowls and glazed pottery are common surface finds.

The early medieval sculptures, referred to above, now to be seen in a temple of recent construction, are a Śiva-lingaṁ (approximately 46 cms. in diameter) and a male torso. And at a place nearby may be seen another torso of a male figure wearing an ornamental girdle with nine strings and floral chains attached to the waist-band, and a Śiva-lingaṁ installed in an *argha*.

GADHA (LUCKNOW)

Locally known as Rājā Kī Gadhī, the mound measures 45 metres square in area, and rises to a height of about 2 metres. Broken bricks and medieval pottery lie on the surface. The sculptures seen here seem to date from c. 9th-10th century A. D. A Śiva-lingaṁ, a figure of Nandī, a broken hand of Śiva with a trident, a terracotta male head and a terracotta horse figurine deserve particular notice.

TIKRI (LUCKNOW)

The mound to the east of the village is about 120 metres long, 90 metres broad, and 6 metres high. Medieval wares litter the surface.

Bangarmau (Unnao)

An inscription of Firoz Tughlaq found here records the construction of a tomb in A. H. 784 (A. D. 1383) of Malik Sultan Shah under the supervision of Jalal—son of Khusrau Bangarmavil.[1]

JAJMAU (KANPUR)

There is an inscription dated A. H. 761 (A. D. 1360) in the tomb of Makhdum Shah, which states that the foundation of this holy tomb of Shaikh Alauddin Usuf was laid by his son, the deceased *Sadr* Ghiyathuddin Mohammad. Another inscription from the same place assigns the completion of the tomb to Abul Mubarak Mohammad, the son of the founder, in the following year.

An inscription of Alauddin Khilji found at *Idgah* records that the building was constructed by Malik Yusuf Khan in A. H. 706 (A. D. 1307).[2]

RAHNAS (KANPUR)

The site is notable for an old fortress and a temple of a comparatively late date. Among the sculptures noticed there mention may be made of a female torso in *tribhaṅga*; damaged male and female figures; a Śiva head; a broken Viṣṇu image; and the pedestal of another image with an inscription of *saṁvat* 1320.

HATHIPUR (KANPUR)

The village has a large mound, now mostly under the plough, littered with medieval pottery and sculptures. A sculptured panel of stone depicts Śiva-Pārvatī, the head of Viṣṇu, *dvārapālas*, lions and elephants in a row. Two colossal images of Śiva-Pārvatī deserve notice : and one of them also depicts Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya with their *vāhanas*. There is a lovely image of Gangā, too, and that of a headless horse-rider.

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[1] *IA*, 1961-62, p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.*

MAGARSA (KANPUR)

The mound in the village has yielded medieval images of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and numerous sculptured fragments. Traces of fortification still exist on the mound. Another mound in its vicinity was also fortified.

MARHALA (KANPUR)

Medieval sculptures of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaja-lakṣmī, Kātyāyanī and the *Navagrahas* may be seen in the village.

MAJHWAN (KANPUR)

Many medieval sculptures are available in the village ; and the figures of Śiva, Gaṇeśa and a broken elephant deserve special notice.

HARHA (KANPUR)

The village has many medieval sculptures, such as the figures of Gaṇeśa, Nandī, as well as human beings.

AMOUR (KANPUR)

There is a medieval brick temple in the village[1].

MURHALA-SISUPUR (KANPUR)

The villages have yielded sculptures representing Umā-Maheśvara, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Viṣṇu and gaja-vyāla[2].

KATHURVA (KANPUR)

The village deserves mention for the medieval sculptures of Viṣṇu, Śiva-Pārvatī, and a woman in triple-bend.

SHISHUPUR (KANPUR)

The village has a number of medieval images, such as those of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Umā-Maheśvara and Rāvaṇānugraha.

GANGABHED (KANPUR)

The village contains many medieval sculptures, including the figures of Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and the dvārapālas.

BAMBI CHENGI (KANPUR)

This village, too, has sculptured images of Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Varāha, Katyāyanī and Śiva-Pārvatī, dating from medieval times. The figure of a female in *tribhaṅga* pose deserves notice for its expression of coquetry in curves.

PARAS (KANPUR)

The village has yielded interesting images of Viṣṇu, Śeṣaśāyī and Umā-Maheśvara.

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[1] *IA*, 1965-66, p. 96.

[2] *Ibid.*

PAHEWA (KANPUR)

The village has quite a few notable sculptures, such as the images of Viṣṇu, Umā-Maheśvara, Kātyāyanī, Sūrya and Nṛsiṁha.

BIRHAR (KANPUR)

Medieval sculptures abound in the village. A hooded Nāga, a headless image of Viṣṇu, a broken image of Kātyāyanī, Śiva-Pārvatī, the figure of a female in *tribhaṅga* with a pot in her hand, and a row of elephants and Śārdūlas with a lady in the centre, deserve particular mention.

NARETI (KANPUR)

The village has a few damaged sculptures, such as those of Viṣṇu wearing his usual jewellery, Vāmana with curly hair, and a dwarfish deity holding a staff in the left hand and granting *abhaya* with the right.[1]

KANPUR PROPER

The lower part of a seated Jina image in *dhyāna mudrā* has been found here. On its pedestal it carries a two-lined inscription, dated Sunday the 12th day of the bright half of *Vaiśākha*, of V.S. 1299.[2]

SHEOLI (KANPUR)

The site is noteworthy for a number of gold and copper coins of Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud, now deposited in the State Museum.[3]

UNCHGAON (SITAPUR)

A sensitive sculpture of medieval vintage found here depicts a couple in an amorous attitude. The damaged male figure caresses the face of the beloved lady who looks properly abashed like one whose body hastens forward but whose heart hesitates. She is indeed a well-groomed lady with a lovely bun on her head, and her hand raised up to her breast seeking vainly to cover it from her ardent lover.

Another noteworthy sculpture from Unchgaon in the State Museum is the head of Śiva wearing *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and ear-rings of two varieties in the two ears, with the third eye illuminating his forehead.

The village also has a colossal head of a goddess wearing disc-like ear-rings. Her hair is tied with a fillet embossed with *kīrtimukhas*. Five fragmentary medieval inscriptions in the Kuṭila script found here may be seen in the Lucknow Museum. The other finds include the sculptured figures of Sūrya, Brahmā, Śeṣaśāyī, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, Gandharvas, Pārvatī, Cāmuṇḍā, and other female representations. A stele bears the bust of Umā-Maheśvara. A beautiful head of Ardhanārīśvara is identifiable by the different varieties of ear-rings in the two ears. A female head probably represents Kaumārī, one of the seven divine mothers, as indicated by her typical head-gear and ear-rings. And a rectangular stone is notable for its sculptured creeper-ornamentation and a forest scene in which a lion is mauling a boar, while the others are scurrying for safety.

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[1] *CRSML*, p. 151.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 140.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Among the terracottas found here is the seated figure of a mother goddess, her neck decked with a *graiveyaka* (necklace), and her ears with rings. A few terracotta horses with saddles have also been found.[1]

ALMAPUR (SITAPUR)

The site has yielded a few sculptures of interest. A damaged stone panel shows the bust of a three-headed deity with four hands; a standing four-armed deity in profile, and the traces of another deity as well. All the figures are haloed and probably represent Harī-Hara-Pitāmaha, a syncretic development of the medieval period. Medieval inscriptions have also been found at Almapur.

BARAGAON (SITAPUR)

An early medieval mound at Baragaon has yielded terracotta figurines of saddled horses, besides bowls used as incense-burners.[2]

NASIRABAD (SITAPUR)

A few medieval sculptures found here include a mutilated image of Viṣṇu holding a conch. On its back are depicted two male figures, one of them holding a flower and the other a staff. There are two damaged images of Vāmana, too, one of which carries on its back-slab representations of the Varāha and Matsya incarnations. There is yet another mutilated head of Viṣṇu with an aureola behind, wearing ear-rings and a necklace.[3]

INTAROR GANGWAN AND MUZAFFARPUR (SITAPUR)

Medieval inscriptions have been found at both the places.[4]

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[1] *CRSML*, pp. 139-40 and 144-49.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 167, 169-70 and 195-96.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 203-4.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 150-151.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MONUMENTS OF LUCKNOW

The death-glow of Muslim architecture in India is nowhere so well illustrated as in the vain ebullience and meretricious majesty of the buildings of Awadh. The great Mughals had already translated their dreams into stone and marble monuments of impeccable design and unageing beauty. All important problems of construction were solved with an inspired delicacy of touch and a rare refinement of taste; and technical competence fully matched the ingenuity of style. But the architecture of Lucknow represents the last phase of the Mughal style, which had passed its peak. As the springs of inspiration slowly but surely dried up, originality could be sought and achieved only by reverting to brick and rubble and stucco; which is what the Nawabs did, in order to raise structures of imposing proportions with an amazing economy of time and effort and expense. The workmen showed their mastery of materials in the fine finish of the decorative details and mouldings in plaster, that redeemed the decadence of the Awadh phase.

Lucknow boasts a remarkable range of architecture that bloomed into being within a century. The buildings erected towards the end of the 18th century instance the natural decline of a style that had reached the limit of its performance. But the edifices of the 19th century represent an "awkward mimicry of the models then followed in England",[1] an "unintelligent vulgarity" perpetrated by a people "who were capable of such noble things in their own styles".[2]

THE BARA IMAMBARA

Built by Asafu'd-daula as a measure of famine relief about A. D. 1784, the Bara Imambara with its mosque, courts and gateways, remains the noblest expression of his architectural achievement. A creation of the architect Kifayatu'la, this magnificent complex of imposing proportions is approached by two gateways, one on each side of a broad road; that on the south serves as the entrance, the other being built solely for symmetry.

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[1] *Lucknow: A Gazetteer*, vol. XXXVII, p. 155.

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. London, 1876, p. 604.

The forecourt within ends in a flight of steps leading up to another triple doorway, which gives access to the main courtyard with the Imambara at the southern end and the mosque on the western side.

An edifice of majestic proportions, the Bara Imambara is notable both for the construction of its interior and the austere dignity of its composition. The building consists of an immense vaulted hall measuring about 50 m. in length, 16.5 m. in width and 15.7 m. in height,[1] one of the largest of its kind in the world. This hall also serves as the resting place for the mortal remains of its builder Asafu'd-daula. The verandahs on the two sides measure, respectively, 8.2 m. and 8.4 m. wide, and at each end there is an octagonal apartment 16.5 m. in diameter.[2]

The building is covered by vaults of simple construction, made of bricks and coarse concrete several feet in thickness, which stand without thrust or abutment and are indeed longer lasting than vaults of the Gothic architecture. These vaults and alleys also serve as an amusing labyrinth atop the Imambara. The so-called maze is, however, no more than a delightful dimension of a constructional expedient calculated to mitigate the deadweight of the superstructure.

To the north-west of the Imambara stands a mosque at an angle with the remainder of the scheme, in order to conform with the obligatory orientation of such a place of worship. The wide frontage and the stepped platform of the shrine create a happy sense of spaciousness enhanced by the symmetry of its proportions. Two soaring corner-minarets, octagonal in shape and tapering in design, seem to reassure the wavering worshipper. Over-ornamentation in the form of decorative accessories, however, detracts from the grandeur of the composition. The perforated arcade above the parapet may be mentioned here in particular, in as much as the exuberance of its application to the buildings of Lucknow transformed it into a special characteristic. The domes, too, with their foliated fluting fail to inspire, and only serve to suggest a decadence of style and inner vitality.

The large Rumi Darwaza or the "Turkish Doorway", which gives admission to the outer ward of the entire complex, remains the most expressive example of the spirit of the Awadh architecture. "Extravagantly bold in some of its features, it is frivolously petty in others, a work of contradictions, designed evidently for the gratification of a patron devoid of refinement or restraint......

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[1] *District Gazetteer-Lucknow*, vol. XXXVII, p. 203; Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, vol, II, pp. 113-114.

[2] *District Gazetteer-Lucknow*, vol. XXXVII, p. 203.

Outward show and tawdry pretence mark the architecture, just as they were symptomatic of the life of the court".[1]

The great gateway stands almost alone, soaring 18 metres and more up to the apex of the arch, which, indeed, looks more like an alcove than an arch; and the disposition of the abutments relieves the impression of heaviness. Looking as it does like half of a huge dome cut down perpendicularly, the structure has only a comparatively small entrance at the base.

ALAMGIRI MOSQUE

To the north of the Great Imambara, atop the Lachman *Ṭīlā*, stands the Alamgiri mosque built by Sultan Ali, the Governor of Awadh during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. A triple-domed structure with slender minarets at the corners, it deserves notice for its symmetry and sobriety of decoration.

HUSAINABAD IMAMBARA

The Husainabad Imambara, about two furlongs to the west of the Rumi Darwaza, was built and endowed by Muhammad Ali Shah as a mausoleum for himself. Both the builder and his mother lie buried there.

Despite numerous discordant elements, the edifice evinces a glamour that at once charms the rustic and repels the aesthete with its unabashed posture of effeminacy.

Access to the outer quadrangle of the Imambara may be gained through two high portals in the east and west. A pretentious gateway capped by three upper storeys provides admittance to the inner enclosure in the south, which consists of a lovely garden and a charming oblong pond running north-south between the entrance and the main building. The Imambara proper, which stands on a platform approached by two flights of steps, consists of a central hall and two other rooms, one on either side. Its arcaded exterior is adorned with Qoranic quotations and other geometric and arabesque designs in white on a black background. The vaulted roof of the structure appears externally flat, and is capped by a gilded dome in the centre and a cupola on either side, besides numerous kiosks adding to the grace of the structure.

To the west of the garden tank stands a corrupt copy of the Taj in miniature, which serves as the tomb of Zinat Asuja, the daughter of Mohammad Ali Shah. A likeness of this structure stands on the eastern side, too, for the sake of symmetry. The mosque in the north-western corner of the garden does not deserve any special notice.

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[1] Percy Brown, vol. II, p. 114.

JAM—I—MASJID

Not far from the Husainabad Imambara, on its west stands the Jam-i-Masjid (Pl. XII), the construction of which was begun by Mohammad Ali Shah and brought to completion after his death by Begum Malika Jahan. An immense pile of solid masonry, the mosque is noteworthy for its stucco embellishment and visual harmony. Illustrative of the Asafi style of architecture, the shrine rises on the western half of a basement, the eastern part of which serves as an open court. An ornate version of the Asafi mosque, the Jam-i-Masjid retains certain characteristics of the Mughal style, and its elaborative exuberance notwithstanding, remains "one of the least incongruous compositions in the Oudh capital."[1]

THE RESIDENCY

Representative alike of India's struggle for regaining lost freedom and the tenacity of British imperialism, the ruins of the Residency, the centre of a determined siege and an equally dogged defence in 1857, are spread over a picturesque eminence not far from the right bank of the Gomati. Built by Asafu'd-daula about 1780, it served as the abode of the British Resident, and of his guard of honour, for which a house was built by Saadat Ali Khan close to the gate of the Residency enclosure, known as the Bailey Guard gate. About twentyeight buildings once stood here, throbbing with the life of the resident British community.

The Residency proper was a spacious three-storeyed mansion with a facade distinguished by pillars and a portico leading to the central hall. The interior consisted of corridors and well-lighted rooms, while imposing doors and windows added to the grandeur of the exterior. The tall tower rising imperiously above the northern side of the edifice dwarfs the smaller tower on the southern side. Battered by the cannonade of 1857, scarred but not scrapped, it typified the solidity of the British defence with the Union Jack fluttering merrily atop in the heyday of the British empire.

An impressive double-storeyed edifice, which served as a banqueting hall and also as a council chamber, was converted into a general hospital during the siege of 1857. The other buildings deserving of notice in the Residency area are the treasury, Dr. Fayrer's House, the Begum Kothi and the mosque. The cemetery behind an artificial mound contains the graves or cenotaphs of about 2,000 Englishmen and women who lost their lives in 1857.

Defaced and dilapidated by a constant cannonade from heavy artillery at a range of 300 yards, the buildings of the Residency could not nevertheless be destroyed, which speaks for the durability of their solid masonry.

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[1] Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 114.

THE TOMBS OF SAADAT ALI AND KHURSHIDZADI

Built by Nawab Ghaziu'd-din Haider, the tombs of his parents, Saadat Ali Khan and Khurshidzadi, to the north-east of Qaisarbagh, provide a distinctive charm to the Lucknow skyline. The mausoleum of Saadat Ali Khan (Pl. XII) has a cruciform plan produced by adding a central projection to each face of a square. These projecting portions are provided on the front and sides with embowed openings, which serve as pretty passages for light. Octagonal and domed, the central hall of the edifice is tastefully adorned with stucco designs brought into relief by the application of red ochre. Capped by attractive *chatrīs*, the corners of the square internally accommodate the staircases leading to the upper floors. The monument is surmounted by a huge dome with a fluted exterior, and a tall spike on the top. Some other members of the royal family also lie buried here.

The tomb of the queen differs from her husband's in some structural details. Planned as a square with levelled angles, centrally marked by towers bearing kiosks, it is entered through the crypt in the basement. Above the crypt is the central domed hall with arcaded sides and an encircling corridor. Galleries run round the upper half of the lower dome, above which rises the crowning upper dome attended by four *chatrīs*.

SHAH NAJAF

A short distance west of the Sikandar Bagh gate, above the right bank of the Gomati, stands the Shah Najaf, in which its builder Ghaziu'd-din Haider lies buried. A solid masonry structure with a massive dome, it is said to be an imitation of the tomb of Ali, the word 'Najaf' being the name of the hill whereon that tomb stands.

Set amidst a lovely garden, the main chamber is surrounded by cloisters, access to which is provided by fine gateways on the north and south. A mosque on the west forms part of the establishment.

NADAN MAHAL

Beside the road bearing its name stands the monument known as Nadan Mahal, built by Sheikh Abdur Rahim who rose to a position of eminence during Akbar's reign and died in Jahangir's. An example of the early Jahangiri style of architecture, this mausoleum, square in plan, consists of a mortuary chamber encompassed by a verandah, and a dome on top with eaves around. Twelve-sided tapering shafts provided with richly carved bracket-capitals serve as the pillars of the verandah. The central chamber, to which light is admitted through four rectangular openings and small windows above them, contains the marble graves of the builder and his wife. The opening on the south serves as the entrance, while the remaining three are closed by screens of delicate *Jālī*. Traces of enamel decoration may yet be seen on the roof parapet and also other parts of the building.

An oblong pavilion to the right of the Nadan Mahal is notable for its well-executed bracket capitals; and another domical structure with a square exterior and an octagonal interior on the eastern side of the compound serves as a memorial tomb of Ibrahim Chishti, the father of Sheikh Abdur Rahim.

CONSTANTIA—LA MARTINIERE

A large and pretentious building with extensive grounds, originally known as Constantia, the Martiniere was built by General Claude Martin (1735-1800), a French soldier in the service of the Nawabs of Awadh. Designed by the general himself in a debased Palladian style, this immense edifice was, its grotesque appearance nothwithstanding, "a composition of admitted power and character", and "one of the first large buildings of a European order to be erected in Upper India".

The lower storey raised to a good height above the ground is approached by a fine flight of steps, and above it rises the great central tower supported by flying buttresses. Extensive wings on either side of the building stretch outward in a curve. An artificial lake in front adds to the grace of the composition. A lofty fluted masonry column, about 38.5 m. high, rises out of the lake.

Erected during the reign of Asafu'd-daula, the building now serves as the resting place of its architect, and as a school in accordance with the wish of its author. This great architectural undertaking provided a new stimulus to the building art of Awadh, and the artisans vied with one another in importing its prominent features into the new palaces and other secular structures built by them for the Nawabs of Awadh.

Lucknow became the centre of a new style of architecture "of a pronounced hybrid character in which triangular pediments, Corinthian capitals, and Roman round arches were combined with fluted domes, ogee arcades, and arabesque foliations, a medley of western and eastern forms, mostly of a corrupt kind".[1] The buildings arising out of this new impetus consisted of a "debased Mughal framework garnished with classical motifs often of an inappropriate type".[2]

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[1] Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*

DILKUSHA PALACE

To the south-east of La Martiniere stand the ruins of the old Dilkusha palace which was built by Saadat Ali Khan to serve as a hunting house and country residence. An extensive park around it was stocked with deer and other game. A few British officers and men who fell in the capture of Lucknow lie buried on the south of the ruins. It was in this palace that Sir Henry Havelock died on the 24th of November, 1857.

The buildings representative of this hybridization and unthinking imitation of western motifs were mostly secular, such as the two Chatarmanzil palaces, the gateway to the Sikandarbagh, and the Caulakha Darwaza of the Qaisarbagh. The buildings notable for their predominant Italian style are the Roshanwali Kothi and the Begam Kothi. The Qaisarbagh palaces built by Wajid Ali Shah between 1848-1850 entailed a cost of eighty lacs of rupees, which included the furniture as well as decoration. The deposition of the Nawab in 1856 marked the closure of an architectural epoch which had begun on a note of happy innovation, but ended as a base and servile imitation of western models.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LUCKNOW—GLIMPSES OF HER PAST

With her ancient past jealously draped in darkness symbolic of her mocking modesty, the city of Lucknow at once attracts and repels the historian. A tradition of antiquity, as dubious as its authenticity, ascribes its origin to Lakṣmaṇa, the younger brother of Rāma, and the present name of the city is derived from a hypothetical Lakṣmaṇāvatī or Lakṣmaṇapura. The Lachman *Ṭīlā* is supposed to be the site of the ancient settlement, and is doubtless one of the oldest, as evidenced by the discovery of the Painted Grey and the Northern Black Polished wares, besides ring-wells and large bricks on the mound.[1] And recent exploration has brought to light another mound of slightly later antiquity, known as Qila Muhammadinagar, which has yielded the N. B. P. and associated wares. But for these fitful peeps into her past, Lucknow remains a riddle, and was probably no more than a mundane village of people basking in blissful anonymity till the establishment of the Muslim rule.

The region of Lucknow probably formed part of the Kośala kingdom in the 6th century B. C. No tribal coins, though, have yet been reported from Lucknow. The region also possibly allowed passage to the invading Greeks who threatened Sāketa in the 2nd century B. C.

Kuṣāṇa inscriptions at Sārnāth, Śrāvastī and Mathurā attest their hold over Uttar Pradesh, and the discovery of sculptures, bricks and terracottas of that period from Hulaskhera, Bhatpat-Tikharia and Bhadoi points to their sway over Lucknow[2] and the surrounding region, as also evidenced by their coins from Barabanki[3] and Hardoi.[4]

Gupta coins come from Unnao[5] and Fyzabad[6]; Maukharī coins from Rae Bareli, Sitapur, Kheri, Sultanpur and Barabanki.

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[1] V. C. Sharma, *Lucknow District Gazetteer, Lucknow*, 1959, p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *T. T. Report* No. 19, of 1966-67.

[4] *T. T. Report* No. 8, of 1967-68.

[5] *T. T. Report* No. 5, of 1948-49, and no. 1, of 1951-52.

[6] *Cf. JUPHS*, Vol. XII, pt. 1, p. 7.

The latter ruled over most of Uttar Pradesh including the Lucknow region, as attested by the Haḍahā inscription in the Barabanki district.[1]

The Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang refers to two places, Kiā-shī-pu-lo and Pi-so-kia, identified by Smith with Mohanlalganj and Mohana of the Lucknow district, respectively.[2] Several coin-hoards of Vigrahapāla, Mihira Bhoja, Vināyakapāladeva and Govinda Chandra have been found in the districts of Lucknow, Barabanki, Unnao and Hardoi. The area in question thus witnessed the successive suzerainty of the Puṣyabhūtis, Gurjara-Pratihāras[3] and the Gahaḍavālas.[4]

The region seems to have been subject to the sway of the Bhars in the period immediately before the advent of the Islamic threat. Local tradition refers to a dynasty of the Bhars at Bahraich founded in c. 980 A. D., by one Trilokchanda, who held the whole of Awadh. The dynasty, however, came to an end around 1093 A. D.

In c. 1030 A. D., Awadh witnessed the invasion of Sayyad Salar Masaud, a nephew of Mahmud of Ghazni. Several places in Lucknow district are connected with his name. The invader stayed on till the arrival of another Muslim army, and converted many of the local inhabitants to Islam.

Masaud's story, though, remains wrapped in the aura of a legend; and as his memory receded into the past, Rajput tribes came pouring into Awadh, and took little time to defeat and dislodge the earlier rulers, with whom they frequently got mixed up.

The first authentic Muslim incursion into Awadh was led by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1202 A. D. He doubtless passed through Awadh on his way to Bengal, and the town of Bakhtiyar Nagar near Malihabad might owe its orgin to him. The early Muslim colonies in the region did not make their appearance much before the middle of the 13th century.

A small colony of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas on and around the Lachman *Ṭilā* was supplanted by the Sheikhs, and later by the Pathans. The Sheikhs rose to high positions, and many *sūbedārs* of Awadh came from their ranks. A fort built by them at the site of the later Macchī Bhawan was called Qilā Lakhnā after the name of its Hindu architect, Lakhnā. The prosperity of the Sheikhs spurred the growth of a town around them, which came to be known as Lakhnau probably after Lakhnā.[1] The name Lakhnau was certainly current prior to the days of Akbar.

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[1] *EI, Vol.* XIV, pp. 115-118.

[2] Smith *JRAS*, 1898, p. 523. But Major Vost (*JRAS*, 1903, p. 583) identifies Jhusi in Allahabad with Kia-shi-pu-lo.

[3] For Gurjara-Pratihara coins from Lucknow, see *T. T. R.* no 13, of 1944-45.

[4] Cf. *JUPHS*, XII, Pt. I, p. 8; *The Itaunja Grant of Govinda Chandra Deva of V. S. 1186, EI*, Vol. XIII, p. 296.

Lucknow formed part of the *sūbā* of Awadh from the earliest days of the Muslim rule, and also served as the capital city whenever any local resident rose to be a *sūbedār*.[2] Bahlol Lodi entrusted the government of Lucknow to his grandson Azam Humayun, the son of Bayazid Khan, in 1478 A. D.[3] But Lucknow seems to have been held by the kings of Jaunpur earlier, as evidenced by the despatch of an expedition by Muhammad Shah in 1440 A. D., against the *Vaiśa Rājā* of Kakori, who had extended his marauding activities into the very heart of the Lucknow city.[4]

Ahmad Khan, the son of Mubarak Khan Lodi, held Lucknow in 1506 A. D.; but he was deposed by Sikandar Lodi, and replaced by his brother Sur Khan.[5]

Lucknow was occupied by prince Humayun in 1526 A. D., only to be abandoned shortly afterwards; and was recaptured by his father Babur in 1528 A. D., duly celebrated by the issue of a new coin type in silver bearing the legend *Zarb Lakhnau*.[6]

Sher Shah Suri also held Lucknow during his brief tenure as emperor, and set up a mint there for the manufacture of copper coins.[7]

Lucknow rose in importance with the accession of Akbar, who evinced some fondness for the place, maintained the copper mint, and built many *mohallas* to the south of the Chauk. One of the earliest governors of Lucknow in Akbar's reign was Husain Khan Tukriya, who was replaced by Mehdi Qasim Khan in A. D. 1569. He was followed in 1572 by Isqandar Khan, who died a year later. Lucknow was then given to Khwaja Aminuddin Mahmud Khwaja Jahan, who was *Wazir-i-Mustaqil* of all Hindustan.

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[1] The *District Gazetteer*, p. 143, misspels Lakhnā or Lyakhnā as Likhnā, which is most unlikely as the name of a person in the region of Awadh. It seems more reasonable to derive the name “Lakhnau” from Lakhanuā,the colloquial Awadhi form of Lakhna.

[2] Coins of the Turks, Khiljis, Tughlaqs and the Lodis have been found in and around Lucknow; cf. *T. T. R.* No. 14, of 1966-67.

[3] Elliot, vol. IV, p. 286.

[4] *District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXXVII, 1904, p. 143.

[5] Elliot, Vol. V, p. 102.

[6] Cf. Brown, C. J., *Numismatic Supplement*, p. 244.

[7] Cf. *District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 143; Wright, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta; vol. II, 1907, p. 101.

Jahangir also visited Lucknow during his father's reign, and founded Mirza Mandi to the west of the Macchi Bhawan.

The Lucknow district formed part of the Lakhnau *sarkar* in the *sūbā* of Awadh in Akbar's reign. Precious little is, however, heard or known of Lucknow from the death of Akbar till the formation of a separate principality of Awadh. That it was a flourishing city during the reign of Jahangir, is attested by the traveller De Laet who calls Lucknow a "magnum emporium".

Sultan Ali Shah Kuli Khan was the *sūbedār* of Awadh in the reign of Shah Jahan, who appointed Saiyyad Nizam Murtaza Khan as the *faujdar* of Lucknow.[1] Aurangzeb, too, visited Lucknow; and a mosque over the old Hindu shrine atop Lachman *Ṭīlā* proclaims his proverbial love of Islam.[2]

The kingdom of Awadh owed its origin to Saadat Khan (1732-39), who was made governor of Awadh in 1732. The Sheikhs of Lucknow were brought under his heel by the new governor, who contributed to the growth of the town.

Saadat Khan was followed by his nephew and son-in-law Abul Mansur Khan, better known as Safdar Jang (1739-54). The new *sūbedār* stayed mostly at Delhi, where in 1747 he received the title of *Wazir*. He founded Fyzabad and rebuilt the old fort known as Macchi Bhawan at Lucknow.

His son and successor Shujau'd-daula (1754-75) largely lived at Fyzabad, though he shifted later to Lucknow which was more centrally situated.

His son Asafu'd-daula (1775-97), the next Nawab-Wazir, transferred his capital from Fyzabad to Lucknow. The city came into its own under the new Nawab; great extensions were made; magnificent buildings were raised and gardens laid out. The Asafi Kothi, the great Imambara and the Rumi Darwaza, the Residency, the Bibiapur Palace, the country house at Chinhat, the garden pavilions at Aishbagh and Charbagh, were all symbolic creations of his majesty and munificence. Many new localities blossomed into being, and Lucknow prospered.

Asafu'd-daula, however, gave himself up to dissipation and debauchery, and neglected the affairs of state till he breathed his last on September 21, 1797.

He was succeeded by his son Wazir Ali, who was deposed by Sir John Shore after a reign of four months. Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814), half-brother of the late ruler, replaced him; and the sixteen years of his reign were marked by ability and sagacity.

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[1] *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 469.

[2] Cf. *District Gazetteer*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 176.

Parsimonious in habits, he nevertheless spent lavishly when occasion demanded; and all the important buildings between the Qaisarbagh and the Dilkusha were constructed by him. Poisoned on the night of July 11, 1814, he was buried in the larger of the two tombs in the Qaisarbagh area, the other being the resting place of his wife Khurshedzadi.

Ghaziu'd-din Haider (1814-27), the seventh and the last Nawab-Wazir of Awadh, received the title of 'King' from the Marquis ot Hastings in 1819. A polished and popular ruler, he held a splendid court as attested by Bishop Heber, and erected some of the most important buildings of Lucknow—such as the tombs of his father and mother, the Moti Mahal, the Mubarak Manzil, the Shah Manzil, the Qadam Rasul, and the Shah Najaf in which he was buried.

The reign of Nasir-ud-din Haider (1827-37) was uneventful, except for his pitiless pursuit of pleasure till his death by poison on the night of July 7, 1837. The house known as the Roshan-ud-daula Kachehri was built by his minister Roshanu'd-daula.

He was followed by his uncle Muhammad Ali Shah, (1837-42) who was an able monarch loved by his subjects. He built the famous Husainabad Imambara, in which he lies buried. The construction of the Jami Masjid begun by him was brought to completion after his death by Begun Malika Jahan.

He was succeeded by his son Amjad Ali Shah (1842-47), who built the road to Kanpur and laid the iron bridge over the Gomati. He also built Hazratganj, where he erected a mausoleum for himself. The great Aminabad Bazar was built by his minister Aminu'd-daula.

Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56), the last ruler of his dynasty, was deposed by the British on the pretext that the administration of Awadh was in hopeless disarray and anarchy prevailed. His name has become a synonym for luxurious living. The great palace of Qaisarbagh was built during the years 1848-50; and Lucknow became proverbial for its pomp and panoply. It was indeed one of the most prosperous cities of India with a personality peculiarly its own, lauded for its traditional courtesy and urbanity, and the delicate refinement of its popular expressions.

The annexation of Awadh signalled the fall of the last bastion of Muslim authority ; and the inexorable eclipse of Islamic rule over the entire country from Delhi to Bengal drove the erstwhile ruling class to despair and desperation. Shorn of power and pelf, bent with age and agony, the hapless relic of the Mughals sat in his Delhi palace brooding over the tragedy of his dreadful misfortune, with his pathetic trade in titles interdicted, and his dignity mortified by the brazen writ of the British resident in the old Indian capital.

The annexation of Satara, Nagpur and Jhansi filled the Marathas with grave forebodings about their future ; and Muslims and Marathas alike fanned and fed the revolt of 1857, the last-ditch attempt of a decrepit and dying feudal order to retrieve its vanishing fortunes foredoomed to failure. The uprising was essentially feudal, led by the chiefs of the old order, aided no doubt by a widespread anti-British feeling and a vague but compelling desire for regaining lost freedom.[1] Notwithstanding its eruptions over large areas of Delhi, U.P., Bihar and Central India, the movement principally remained a tale of two cities, Delhi and Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence's skill and sagacity delayed the rising at Lucknow till the end of June, 1857; and his measures and memory enabled the Residency to hold out even after his death until relieved first in September and finally in November. The Indian soldiers of freedom fought fiercely, to the last drop of their blood. Many memorials scattered around the city bear witness to their heroism and dogged tenacity. But it was in fear and confusion that they rose, fought and died. Not by fighting for the lost feudal cause would freedom come. Incapable and unorganised, the feudal lords were animated neither by any constructive ideal, nor by any community of interest. They had truly outlived their period of utility and vitality ; and the sympathy of the masses proved unavailing ; they rose and fell and bowed out of history, never to return. But the martyrs of 1857 did not die in vain. Modern India was born out of the crucible of sufferings of that fateful year. "Neither Mughal, Maratha, or the Company was the real victor of the struggle. It was the pervasive spirit of the West."[2]

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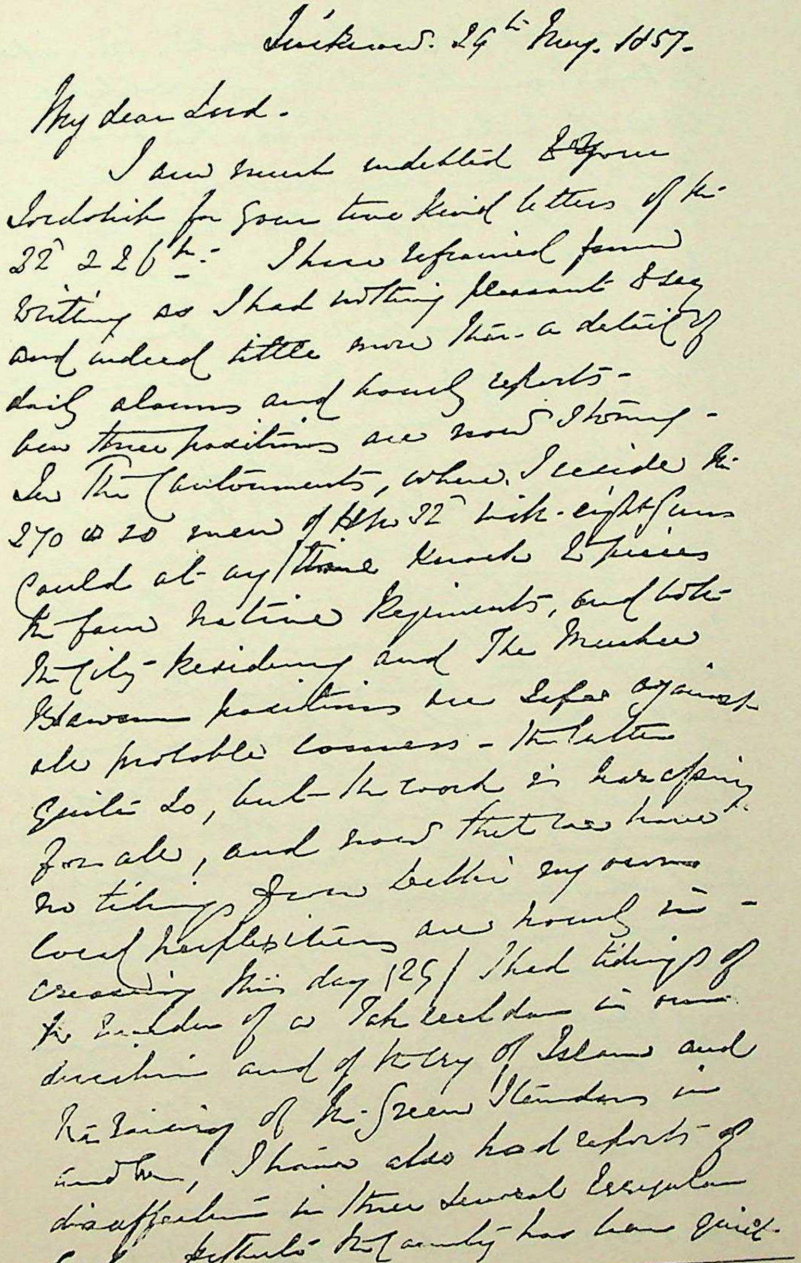
[1] As early as 1818, Sir Thomas Munro wrote: "Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we ; none has stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion."

Quoted by Edward Thompson in "*The Making of the Indian Princes*", 1943, pp. 273, 274.

[2] Percival Spear, *India, A Modern History*, Ann Arbor, 1961, p. 273.

APPENDIX

LETTER FROM SIR H. M. LAWRENCE TO LORD CANNING[1]



Lucknow. 24th May. 1857.

My dear Lord.

I am much indebted to your Lordship for your two kind letters of the 22d & 26th. I have refrained from writing as I had nothing pleasant to say and indeed little more than a detail of daily alarms and hourly reports. Our three positions are now strong. In the Cantonments, where I reside the 270 or 280 men of H.M. 32d with eight guns could at any time crush to pieces the four Native Regiments, and both the City-Residency and the Muchee Bhawun positions are safe against all probable comers. The latter quite so, but the work is harassing for all, and now that we have no tidings from Delhi my own local perplexities are hourly increasing. This day (24) I had tidings of the murder of a Tehseeldar in our division and of talk of Islam and the raising of the Green Standard in another. I have also had reports of disaffection in three several Irregular Corps. Hitherto the country has been quiet.

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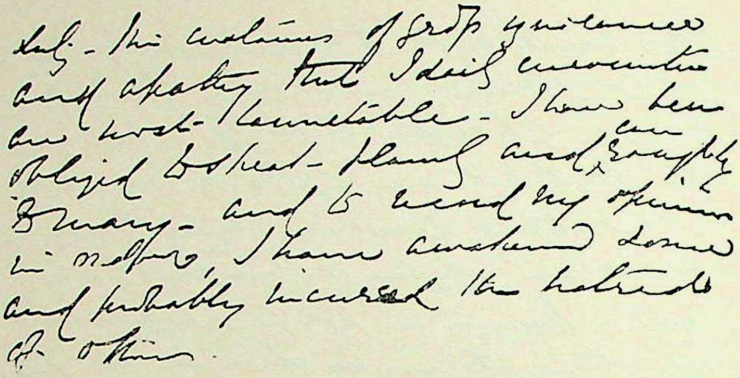
[1] We are deeply indebted to Mr. John Lawrence, great-grandson of Sir H. M. Lawrence, for the photocopy of the original.

and we have plugged the Irregulars &c into the line Regiments, but being constituted of exactly the same materials the taint is fast pervading them, and in a few weeks, if not days, unless Delhi is in the interim captured, there will be one feeling that our prestige is gone, and that feeling will be more dangerous than any other — Religion, fear, hatred, one and all have their influences, but there is still a reverence for the Company's Ikbal, when it is gone we shall have few friends indeed. The tone and talk of many have greatly altered within the last few days, and we are now asked almost in terms of insolence whether Delhi is recaptured or when it will be — it was not ~~[illegible]~~ just after the Cabul massacre and when we hesitated to advance through the Khyber Pass, in my memory, such tones ever before prevailed — Every effort should be made to recover Delhi, the king is a watch-word to Mahomedans, the loss of a Capital is a stigma on us, and to these are added the fear prevailing among the classes regarding all classes — the native

letter recently sent to Your Lordship by
Col. Colin Troup from Bareilly fairly depicts
the feeling of the better classes of natives, and
especially of natives – they think that we
are unfaithful and that we no longer
respect their religion – or care for their interests. There is no positive abuse in
that letter, whereas in all that are posted
or dropped here, the chief ingredients are
abuse and violence.

I have not addressed Jung Bahadur
because under present circumstances
I cannot think he could or would
help us. Whatever be his personal
opinions, Goorkha pride and national
ambition would be more likely to
urge an attempt at recovery of old
possessions, than adhesion to old Enemies.
I have, however, told Major Ramsay
to feel him. Once Delhi is recaptured
the Game will again be in
our own hands if we play the Cards
with ordinary skill. I will as directed
submit my views on the army Indian
reform as required especially among
the Officers from top to bottom. There are
only few who both know and do their



daily - the violence of gross ignorance
and apathy that I daily encounter
are most lamentable - I have been
obliged to speak plainly and unsparingly
to many - and to send my opinion
in writing. I have awakened some
and probably incurred the hatred
of others.

The Residency

LETTER FROM

SIR H. M. LAWRENCE TO LORD CANNING

29th May, 1857

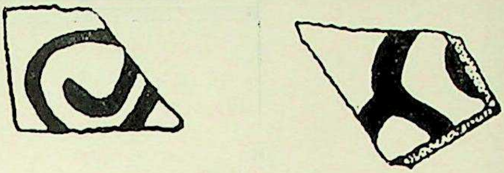
My dear Lord,

I am indebted to your Lordship for your two kind letters of the 22nd & 26th. I have refrained from writing as I had nothing pleasant to say and indeed little more than a detail of daily alarms and hourly reports. Our three positions are now strong. In the Cantonments, where I reside, the 270 or so men of H. M. 32nd, with eight guns, could at any time knock to pieces the four native Regiments, and both the City Residency and the Mushee Bhawan positions are safe against all probable comers — the latter quite so. But the work is harassing for all, and now that we have no tidings from Delhi, my own local perplexities are hourly increasing. This day (29) I had tidings of the murder of a Tahseeldar in one direction, and of the cry of Islam and the raising of the Green Standar[d]s in another. I have also had reports of disaffection in three several Irregular Corps. Hitherto the count[r]y has been quiet and we have played the Irregulars against the line Regiments, but, being constituted of exactly the same materials, the taint is fast pervading them, and in a few weeks, if not days, unless Delhi is in the interim captured, there will be one feeling, that our prestige is gone, and that feeling will be more dangerous than any other. Religion, fear, hatred, one and all have their influences, but there is still a reverence for the Company's *Ikbal*. When it is gone we shall have few friends indeed. The tone and talk of many have greately altered within the last few days, and we are now asked almost in terms of insolence whether Delhi is recaptured, or when it will be. It was only just after the Cabul massacre, and when we hesitated to advance through the Khyber, that, in my memory, such times ever before prevailed.

Every effort should be made to recover Delhi. The king is a watch-word to Mahommedans, the loss of a Capital is a stigma on us, and to these are added the fear prevailing among all classes regarding all classes. A native letter recently sent to your

Lordship by Col. Colin Tramp, from Bareilly, fairly depicts the feeling of the *better* classes of natives, and especially of natives. They think that we are ungrateful, and that we no longer respect their religion or care for their interests. There is no positive *abuse* in that letter, whereas in all that are posted or dropped here the chief ingredients are abuse and violence.

I have not addressed Jung Bahadoor because under present circumstances I cannot think he *could* or would help us. Whenever he has personal opinions, Goochha pride and National ambition would be more likely to urge an attempt at recovery of old possessions, than assistance to old enemies. I have however told Major Ramsay to feel him. Once Delhi is recaptured the Game will again be in our own hands, if we play the cards with ordinary skill. I will, as directed, submit my views on the army radical reform, as required, especially among the Officers. From top to bottom there are very few who both know and do their duty. The instances of gross ignorance and apathy that I daily encounter are most lamentable. I have been obliged to speak plainly and even roughly to many, and to record my opinions in orders. I have awakened some and probably incurred the hatred of others.



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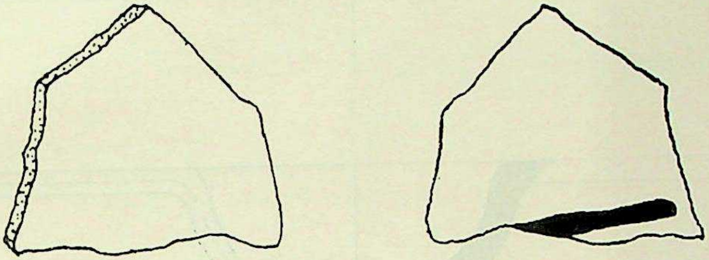

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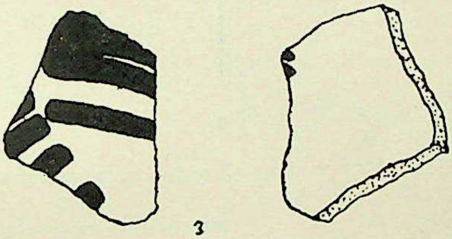

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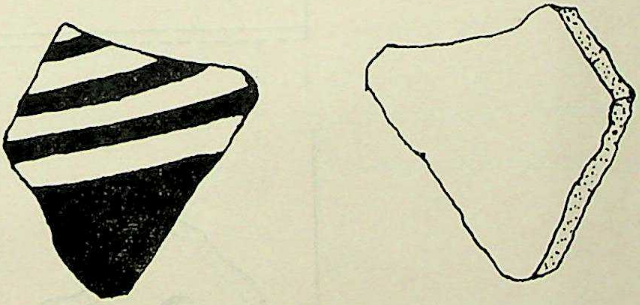

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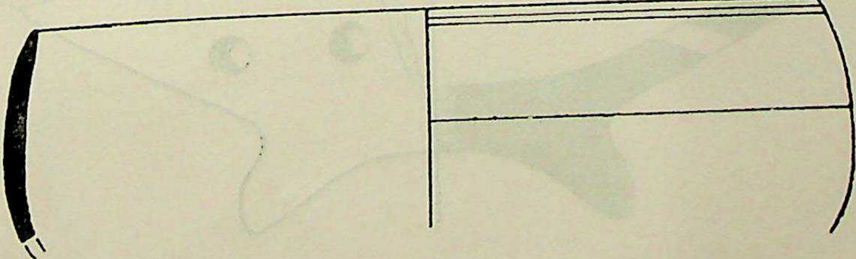

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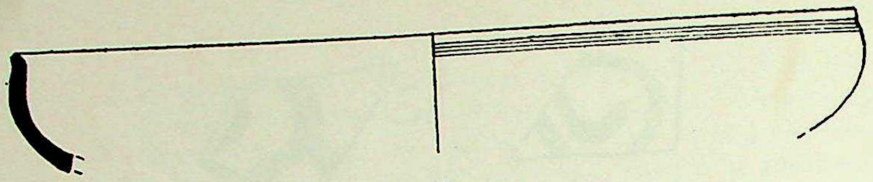

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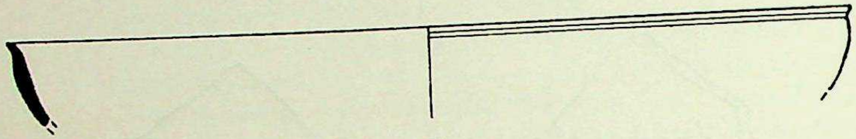

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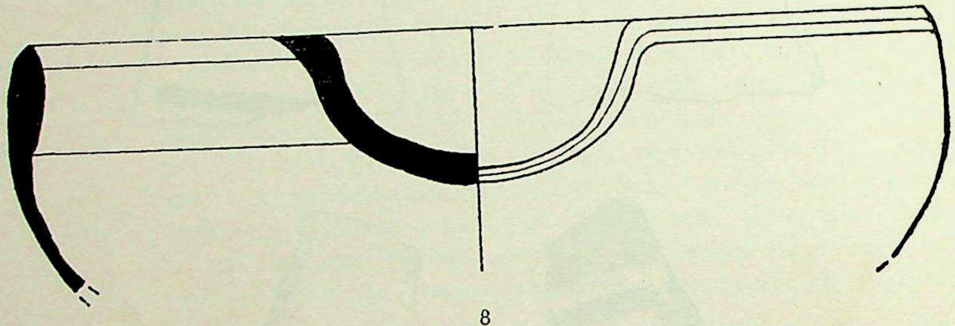

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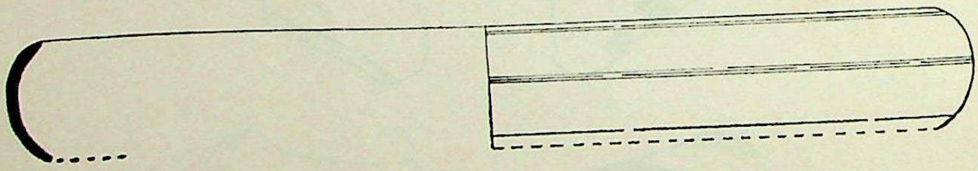

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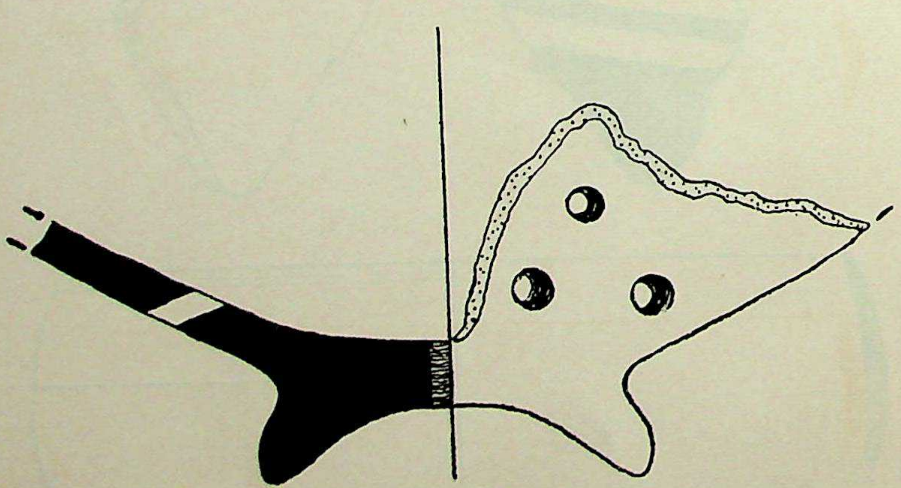

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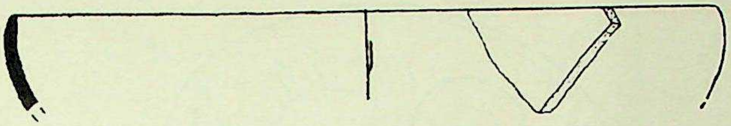

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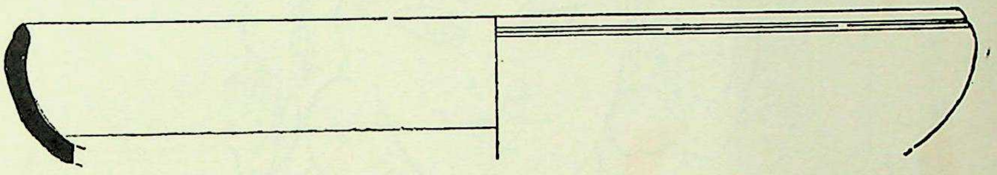

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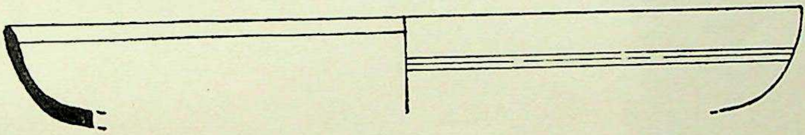

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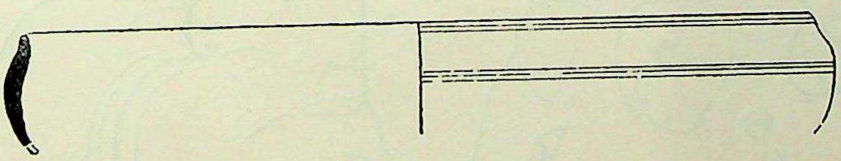

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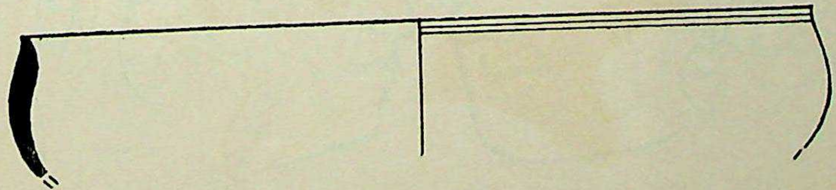

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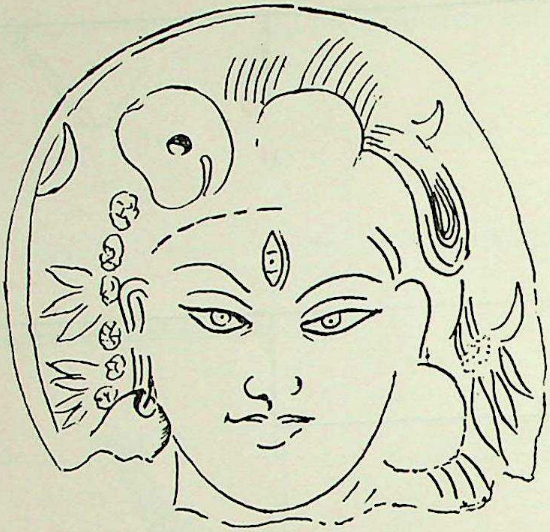

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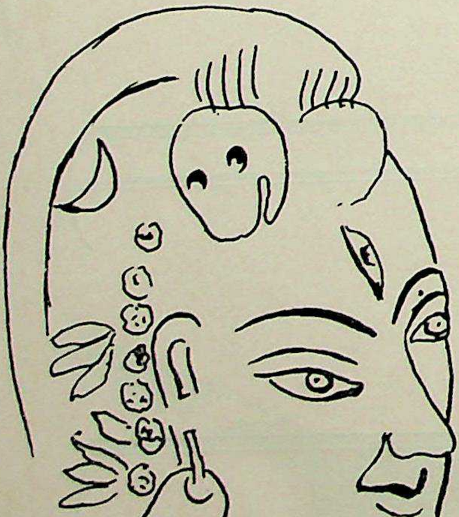

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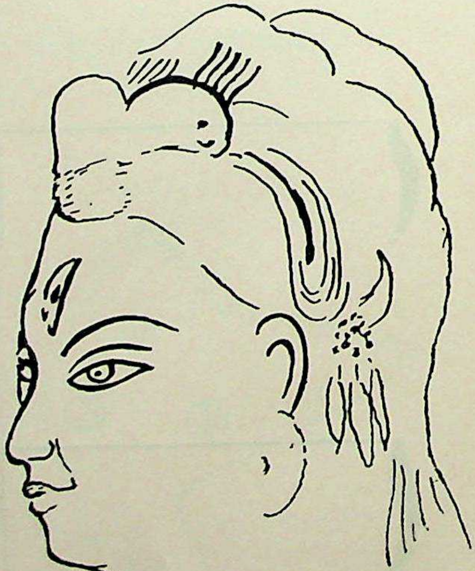

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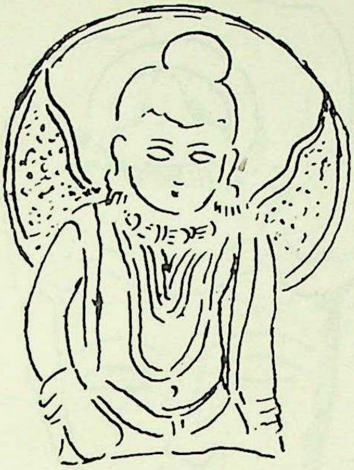

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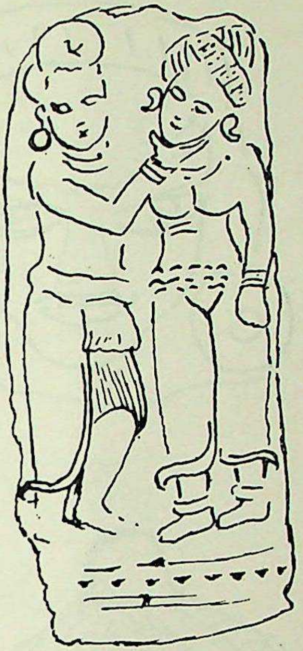

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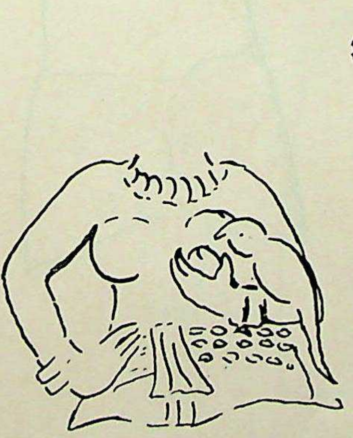

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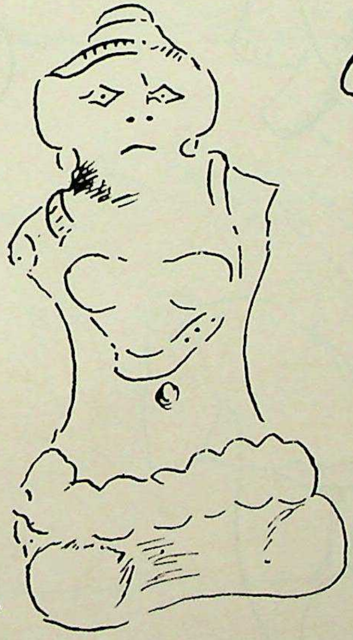

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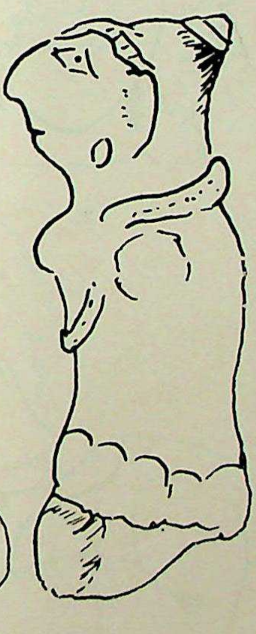

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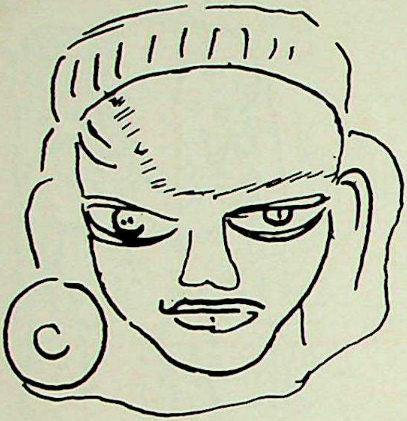

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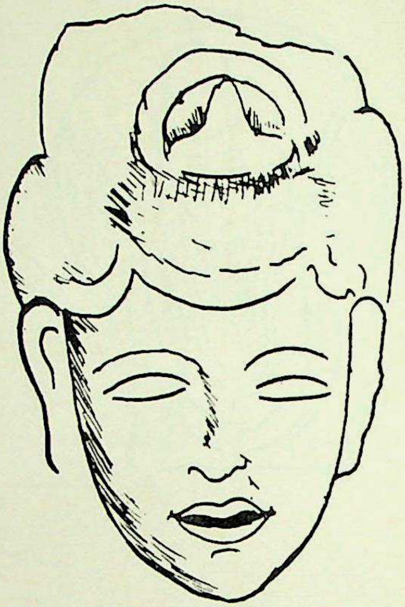

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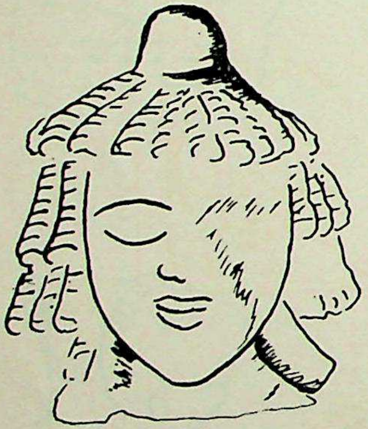

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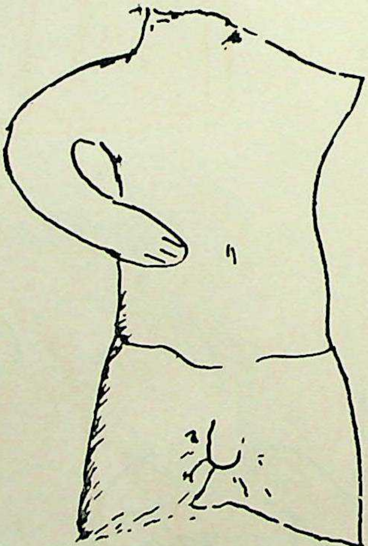

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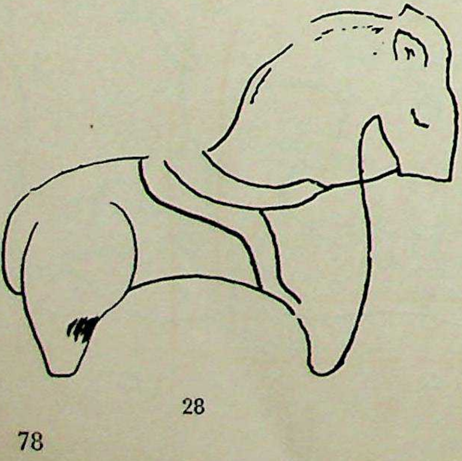

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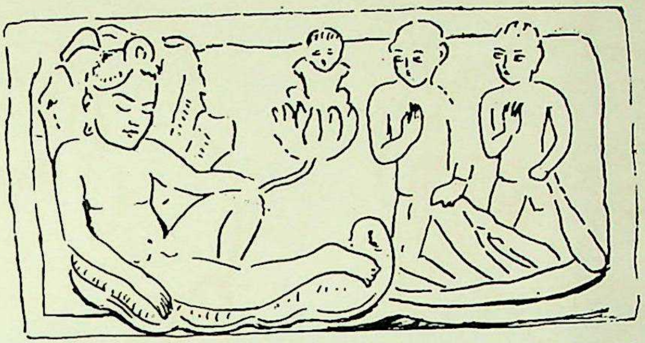

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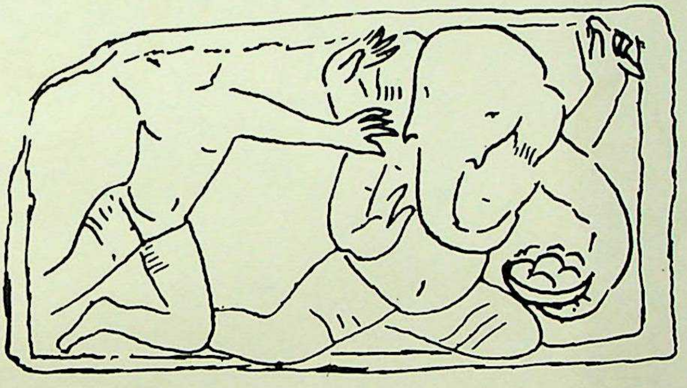

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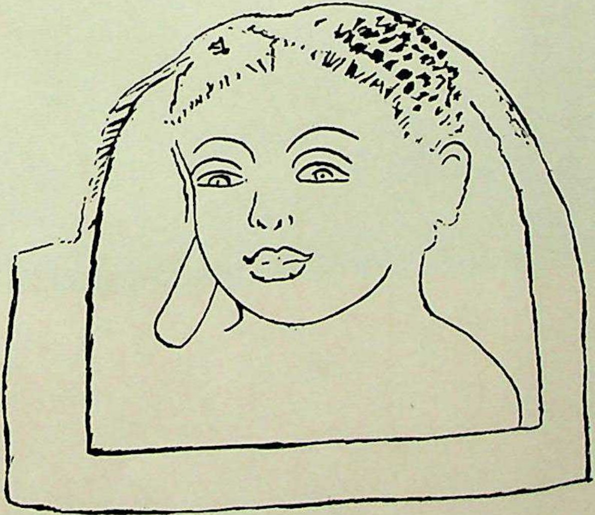

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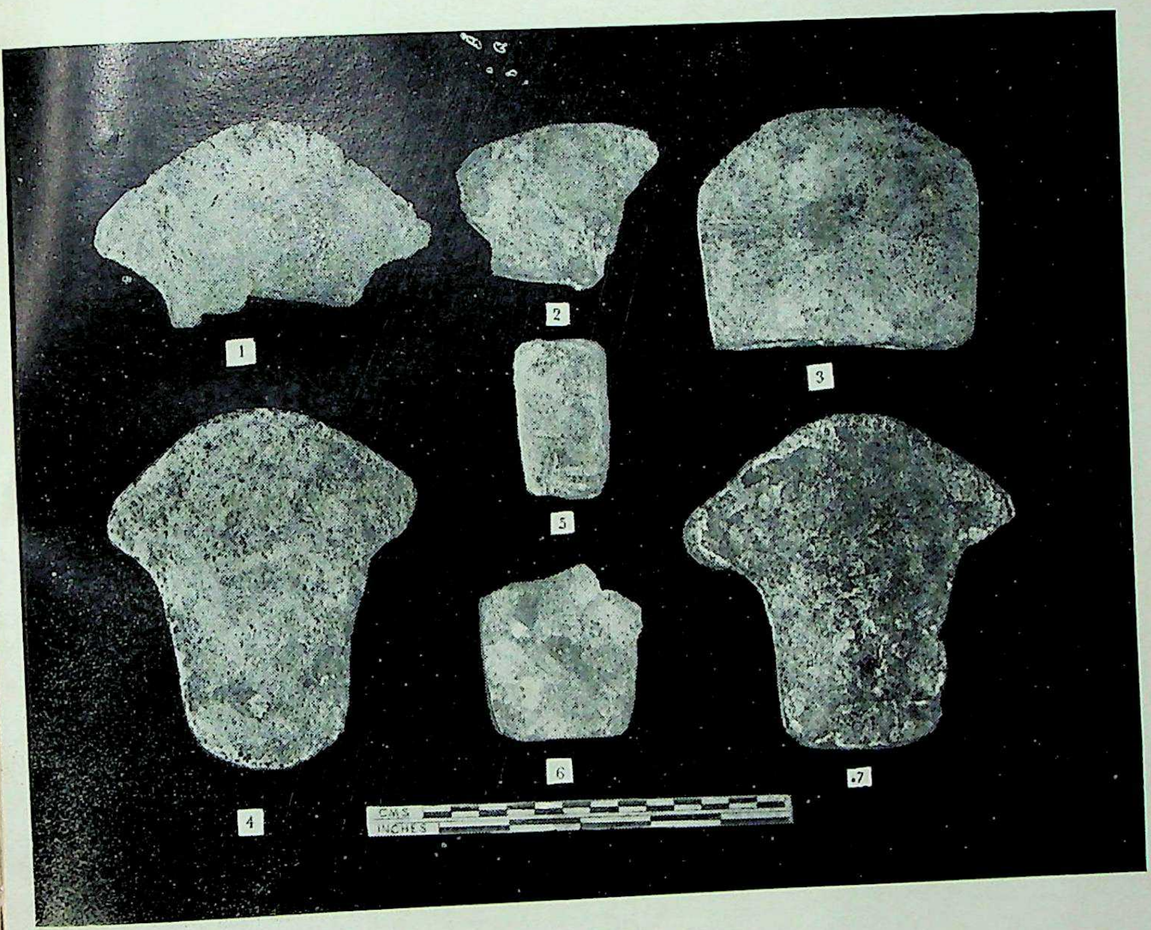
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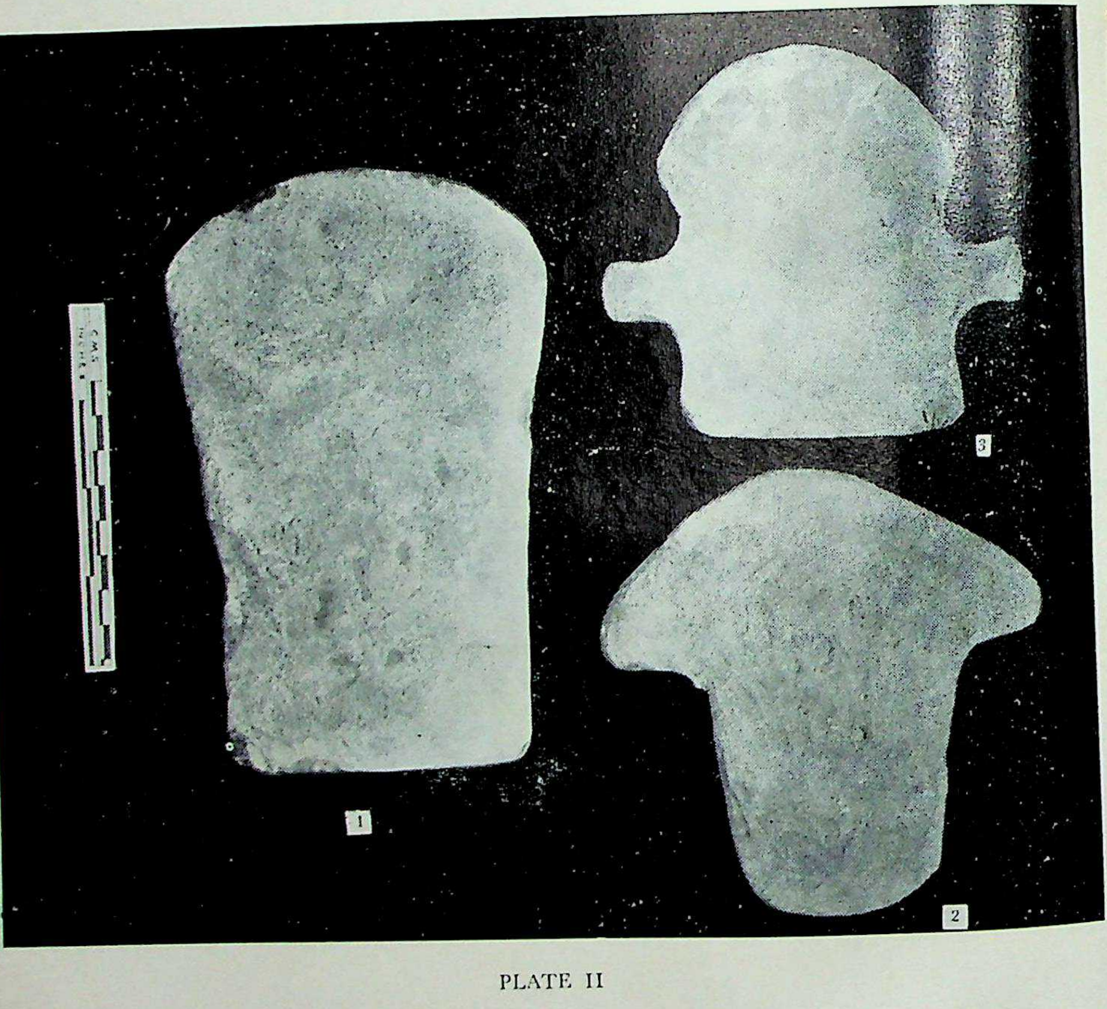
PLATE I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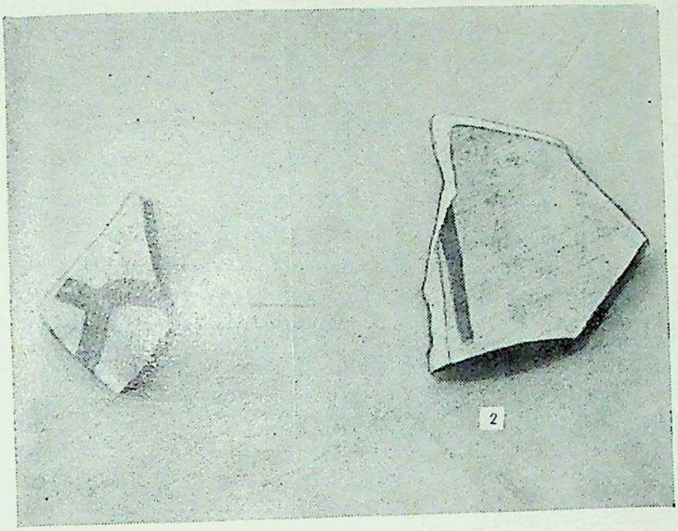

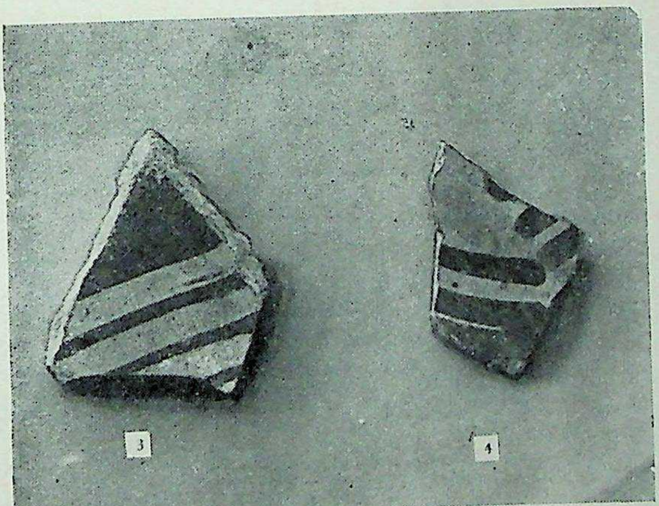

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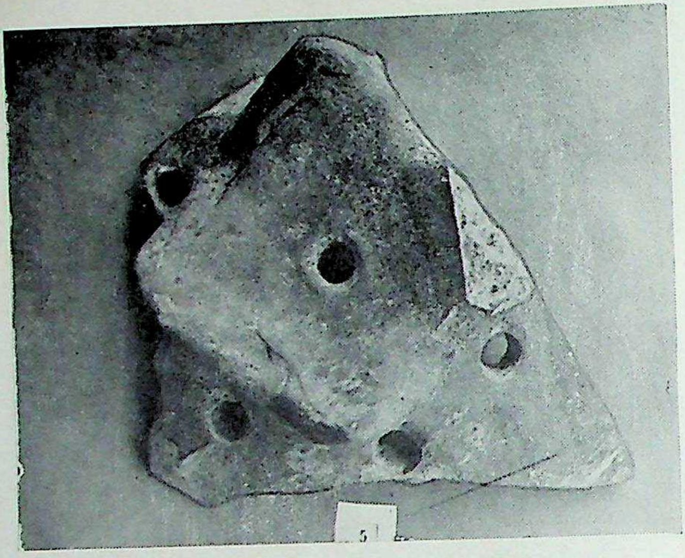

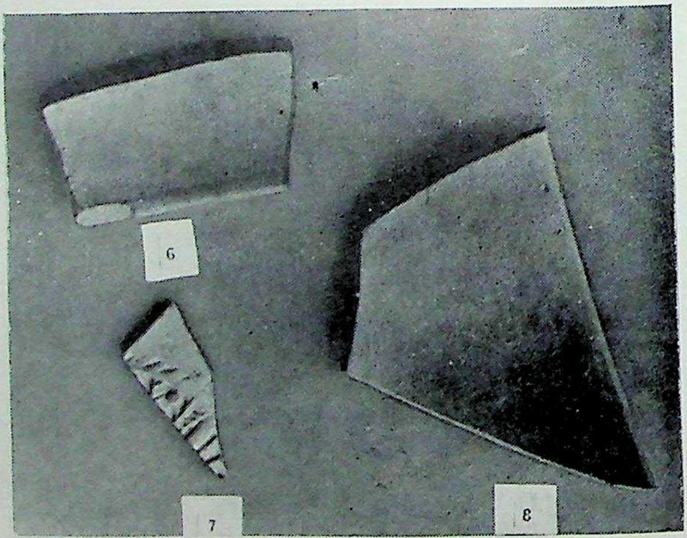

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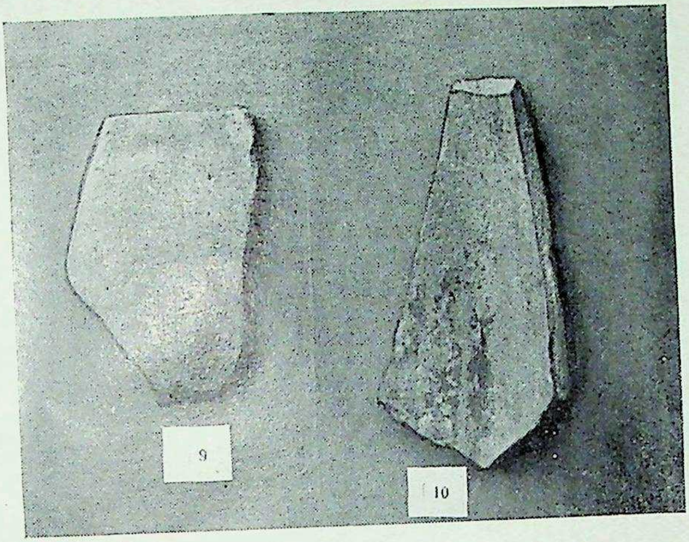

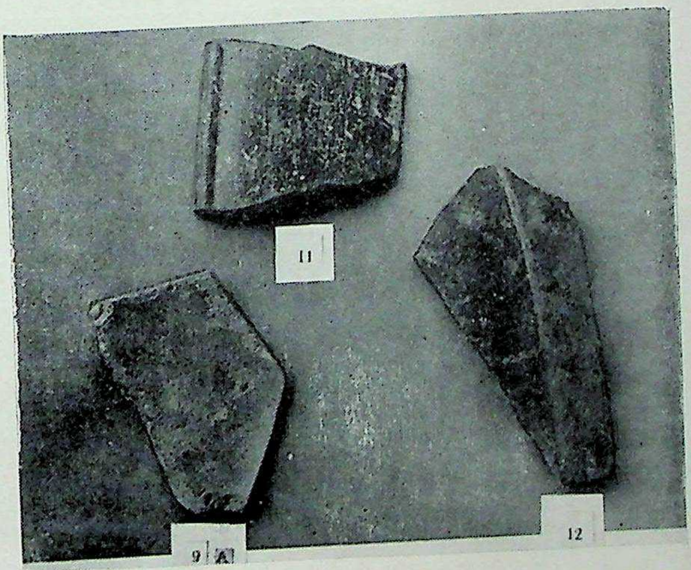

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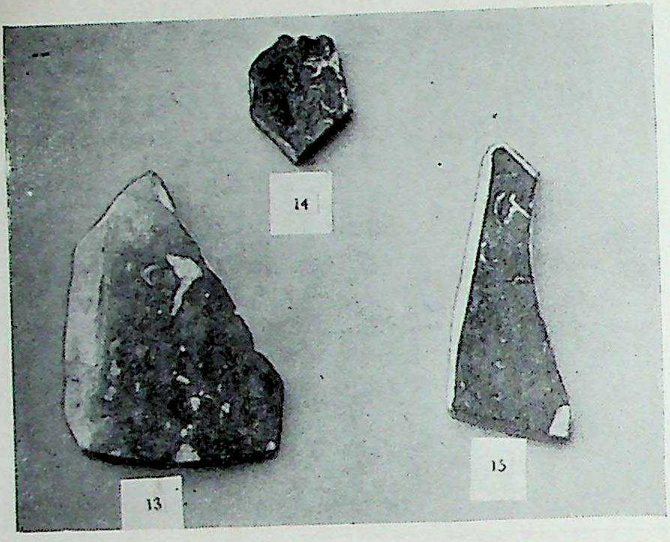

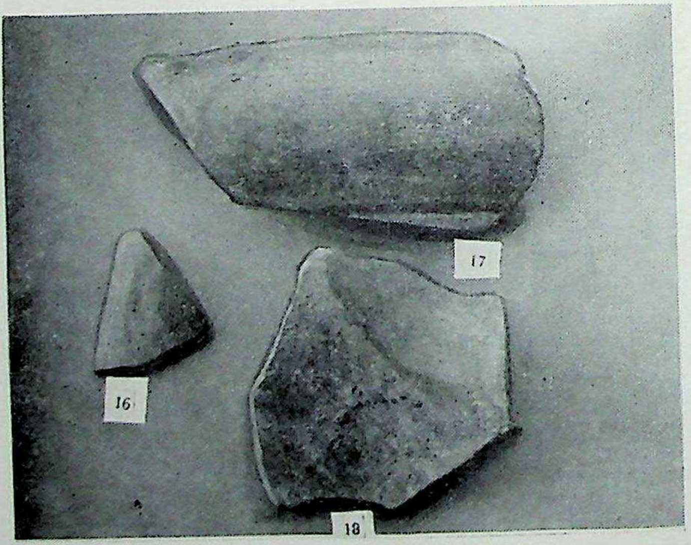

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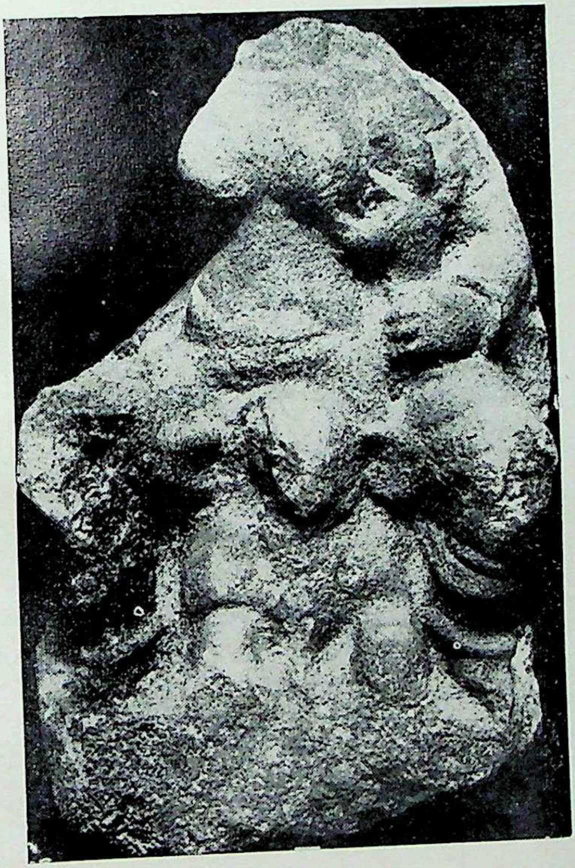

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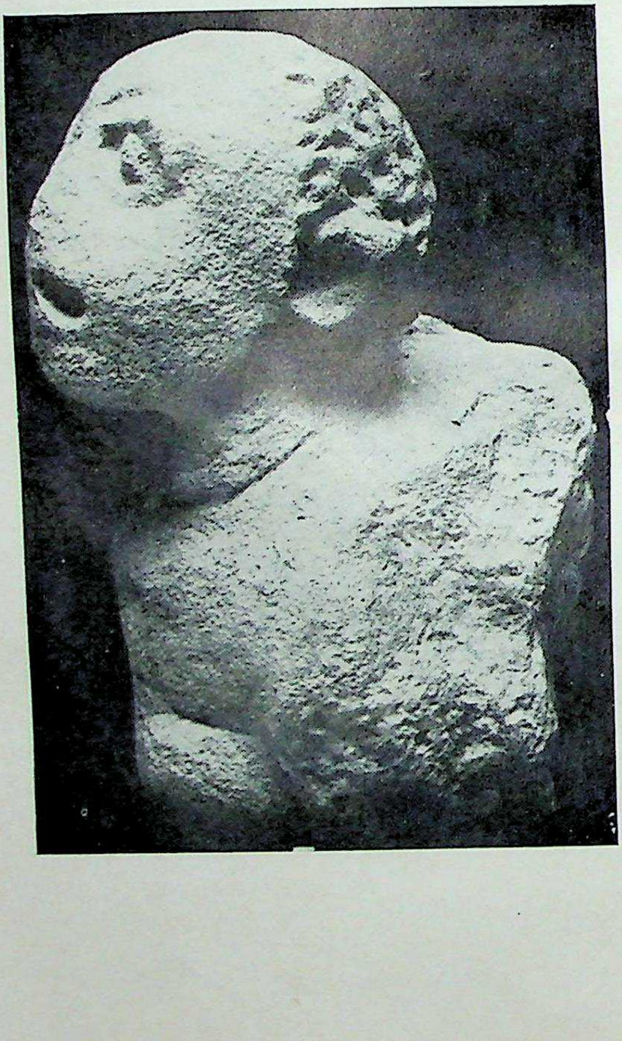

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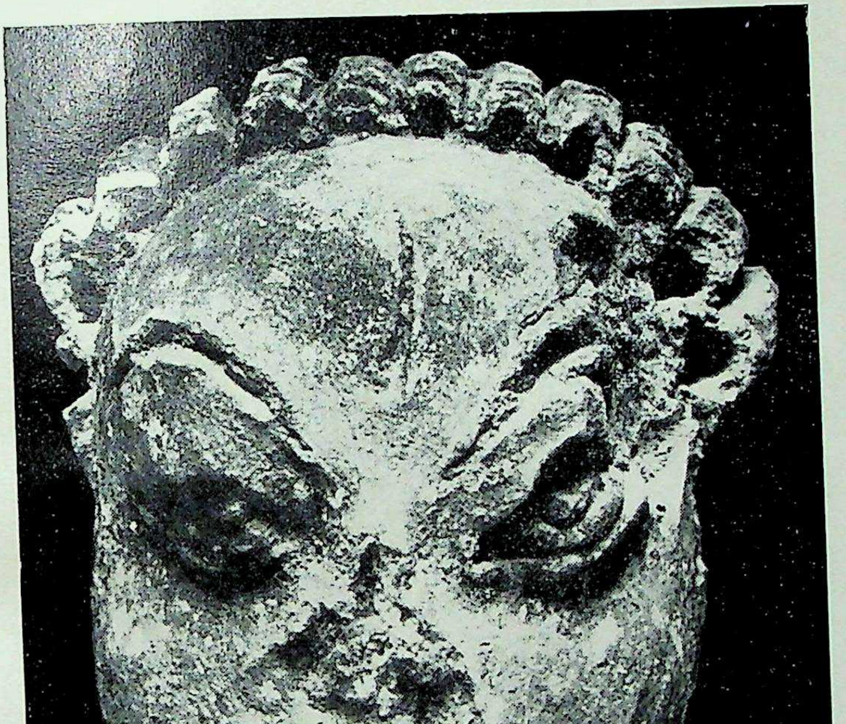

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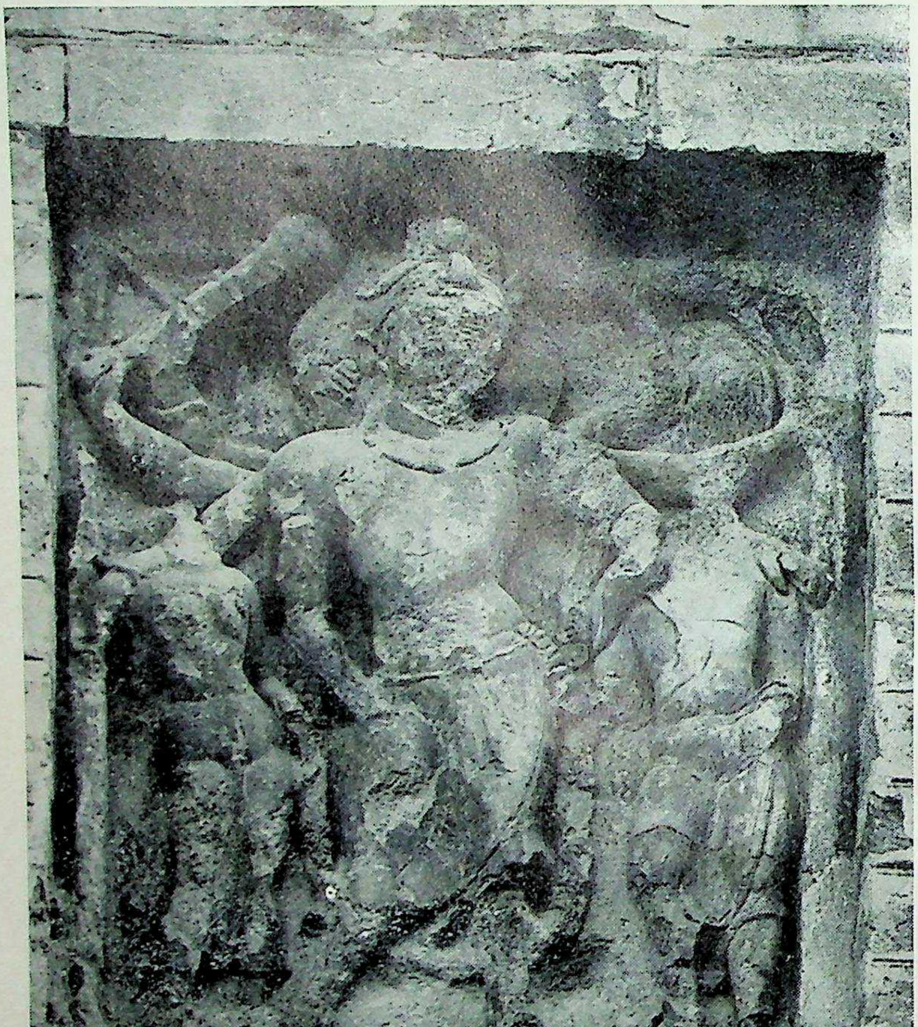
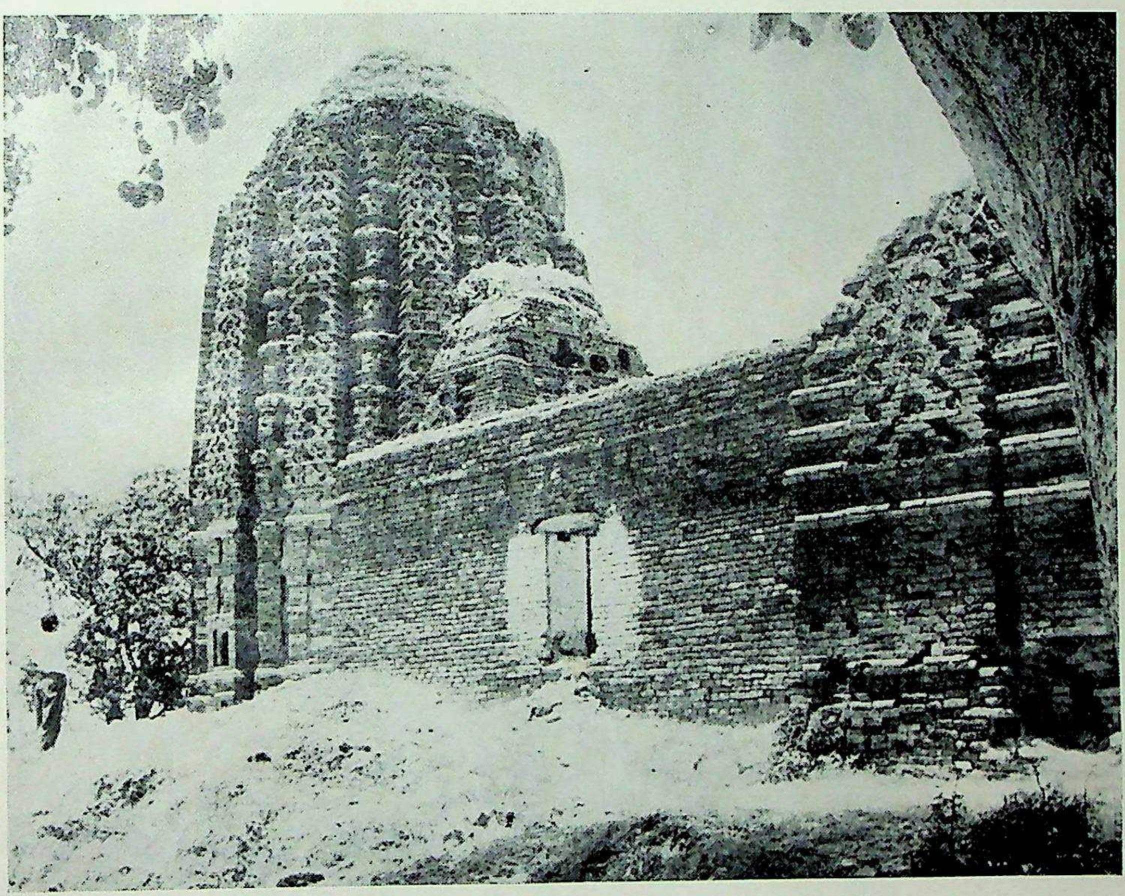


PLATE X



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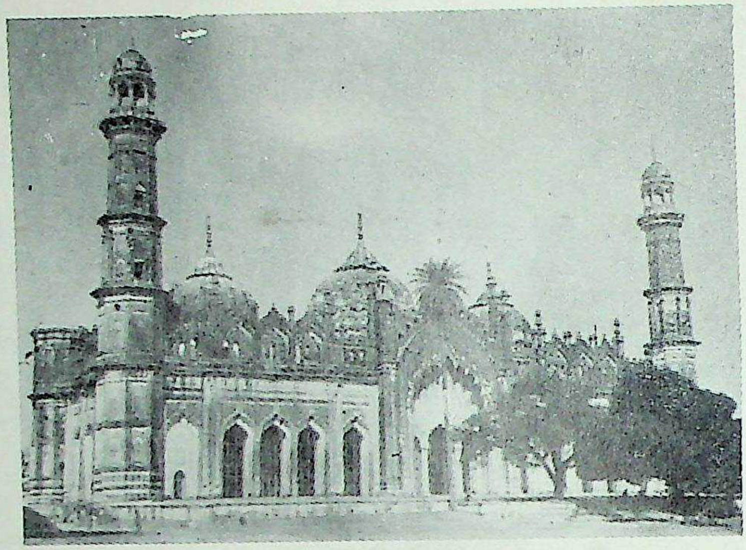
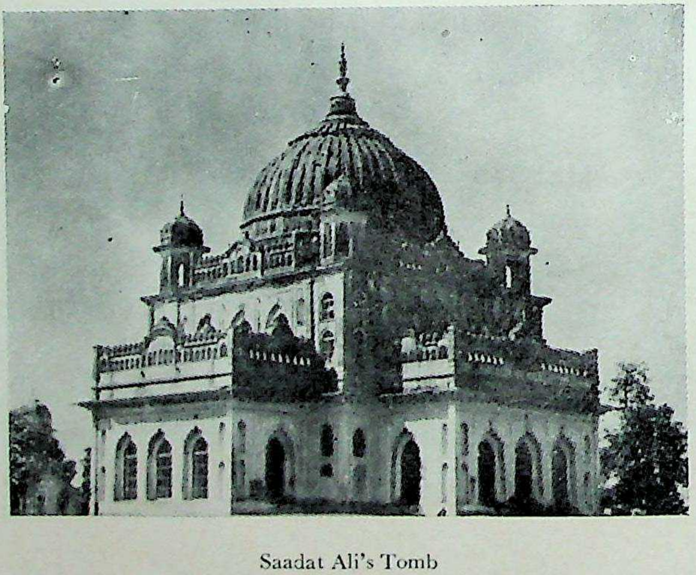


The Jama Mosque



Saadat Ali's Tomb

PLATE XII

NOTES ON POTTERY ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

1. Bowl-fragment of P. G. ware, painted in black on the outside with an incomplete design formed by adjoining lines; the inner side adorned with a spiral; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
2. Bowl-fragment of P. G. ware, painted in black on the inside with a simple line; the outside is plain; from Lachman *Ṭīlā* (Lucknow).
3. Bowl-fragment of P. G. ware with chocolate slip, painted in black on the inside with groups of oblique strokes; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
4. Bowl-fragment of Painted Red ware, painted in black on the inside with simple lines; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
5. Bowl-fragment of Grey ware with a vertical sharpened rim and incurved sides; from Lachman *Ṭīlā* (Lucknow).
6. Basin of Black and Red ware with an externally grooved straight rim; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
7. A variant of No. 6, with an externally grooved splayed rim; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
8. Basin of Red ware with an inturned round collared rim distinguished by a lip. The type is abundant at Hastinā-pura, Kauśāmbī, Lacchāgiri, Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī, etc.[1]; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
9. Dish of Red ware with an incurved featureless rim, grooved externally; from Lachman *Ṭīlā* (Lucknow).
10. Perforated lid or vessel of Red ware with a stand; from Dadupur (Lucknow).
11. Bowl of Red ware with a featureless rim; from Dadupur (Lucknow).

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[1] *AI*, 10-11, p. 57, type XXIV.

12. Dish of N.B.P. ware with an incurved rim and external grooves; from Qila Mohammadinagar (Lucknow).

13. Bowl of N.B.P. ware with an out-turned featureless rim and thin wall; from Manriaon (Lucknow).

14. Bowl of N.B.P. ware with a vertical sharpened rim; it is carinated, with a rounded base; from Musanagar (Kanpur).

15. Bowl of Black Polished ware with a featureless slightly incurved rim with grooves; from Faridinagar (Lucknow).

Plates

III.

1-2. See figures 1-2.

3-4. See figures 3-4.

IV.

5. See figure 10.

6. See figure 5.

7. Bowl-fragment of Red ware with stamped design; from Hulaskhera (Lucknow).

8. Bowl-fragment of Grey ware with a straight featureless rim; from Bana (Lucknow).

V.

9. 9 A, Outer and inner sides of a bowl-fragment of Red ware; from Hulaskhera (Lucknow).

10. Bowl-fragment of Black Polished ware; from Faridinagar (Lucknow).

11. Bowl-fragment of N.B.P. ware with a collared rim; from Manriaon (Lucknow).

12. Carinated dish-fragment of N. B. P. ware; from Hulaskhera (Lucknow).

VI.

13. Bowl-fragment of N. B. P. ware; from Qila Mohammadinagar (Lucknow).

14. A sherd of N. B. P. ware, from Lachman *Ṭilā* (Lucknow).

15. Bowl-fragment of N.B.P. ware with a slightly incurved, featureless rim ; from Dadupur (Lucknow).

16. Bowl-fragment of Red ware with an incurved rim, and patches of decoration on the outer fringe ; from Dadupur (Lucknow).

17. Bowl-fragment of Red ware painted with a black line on the base ; from Dadupur (Lucknow).

18. Fragmentary portion of a channel-spouted bowl of Red ware ; from Dadupur (Lucknow).

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Lucknow

Indo-Iranian Relations Since 1878

(Upto 1907)

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By

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The Thesis is a compact account of Indo-Iranian relations from 1878 to 1907. It gives a vivid description of the events during the period and places a view-point different from those expressed by the British authors. It paints a beautiful picture of the historical background of the political and cultural relations of the two countries, which was later on distorted by the British Government.

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